

FOR INDIA'S UPLIFT

A COLLECTION OF
SPEECHES AND WRITINGS ON
INDIAN QUESTIONS

BY

ANNIE BESANT,

SECOND EDITION
REVISED AND ENLARGED

Price Rs 1 8

G A. NATESAN & CO.
MADRAS

NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

This is a comprehensive and exhaustive collection of Mrs. Besant's speeches and writings on Indian Questions. The subjects dealt with cover a wide field. The education of Indian boys and girls (especially of the depressed classes) ; the question of moral and religious instruction ; secondary education through the medium of the Vernaculars ; the industrial development of India ; the Indian Unrest and the true relation that should exist between England and India ; Coloured Races in the Empire ; India and the War ; Self-Government for India ;—all these problems are treated by Mrs. Besant with her well-known lucidity and eloquence. There are also papers and lectures on a variety of other questions such as the Aryan type, the Indian Nation, United India, the Means of India's Regeneration, the Chivalry of India, the Protection of Children, and of animals and the Value of Theosophy in the Raising of India. The publishers venture to think that a perusal of this book will make Indians realise the many valuable services Mrs. Besant has rendered to India.

THE ANCIENT IDEAL OF DUTY.*

WE have met together this evening in order to celebrate the anniversary—a double anniversary, I may say—the annual meeting of the Sriivasa Mandiram on the one side and the anniversary of Sri Ramanuja on the other. Especially is it my duty to urge upon you to-night that sympathy, that help—both pecuniary and moral—which an institution like the Srinivasa Mandiram has a right to expect from a public so intelligent and so wealthy as that of Bangalore and Mysore. You have here in your midst an Institution of a kind that links together the religion of your ancestors with methods of work which meet the needs of the present day. Around the Temple, as in older days, various useful activities are gathered. You have heard from the report of the gatherings of ladies—educational and social—that form part of the work of the Institution : you have heard of the Orphanage—too little supported unfortunately—which seeks to train to useful manhood, some of the children who are left, without the help of fathers and mothers, to the mercy of the world ; and this, with the Library—one of the most important instruments of adult education, with the Reading Room, open as you have heard, to thousands, and used both for amusement and instruction—with all these gathered

* Speech delivered at the 27th Anniversary, 1910, of the Srinivasa Mandiram and Charities, Bangalore.

round a Hindu Temple, surely there ought not to be need to plead with any words for this. It should plead for itself, by its utility and its beneficence, and yet it seems as though the work in itself was not sufficiently eloquent to move the hearts and to open the purses of those amidst whom and for whose benefit it is carried on. It is for that reason that I have been asked to come here, and see whether spoken words may do what silent work does not seem strong enough to bring about. And I would fain win your sympathy and co-operation, and ask you that this work which has been going on amongst you for some six-and-twenty years, should not be allowed to languish for want of the support to which it has a righteous claim. Quite truly, in the report, it was said that religion and the secular work of life ought not to be separated one from the other. You can no more separate religion from life than you can separate the spirit from the body and expect the body to remain alive. The religion of a people is the source of life, out of which must inevitably flow everything that is useful and beneficial to the community ; and if there be one religion in the world which has the right to call upon its children for support and help, it is that ancient religion—the Sanathana Dharma—to which the vast majority in this ancient country belong. This ancient religion, the religion of Hinduism, has the noble end and aim which I have just named—the Sanathana Dharma—the teaching of the ancient Dharma that is of value to-day, not only to India, as some might imagine, but to the whole of the modern world. There are difficulties confronting the nations to-day, alike in the East and in the West. There are problems clamouring for solution in every civilised country and on the solution of these

problems the whole future of modern civilisation depends.

Among all the religions of the world, there is none which has so bound up in itself the private life of the individual with the public life of the nation and the State, as the religion of the Sanathana Dharma, which has laid down at once a polity and a social organization of which the foundations are eternally true, and which only needs to-day new applications to meet the new needs of life. I want, if I can, this evening very briefly to show you how an Institution such as you have here, based on the fundamental ideas of the Sanathana Dharma, trying to apply itself to modern needs, is one which is really based on truth not only here, but everywhere else ; and just in proportion as you of this ancient faith can realise its value and live its truth, so the whole world will look to India for guidance, so the whole world will become grateful to India as the preserver of the life of religion. I am not specially concerned with the small details of the Sanathana Dharma. It is the broad outlines that I want to remind you of, in order that you may realise the answer which they contain to the pressing needs of our day. First of all you will notice—when you compare the fundamental idea of the Sanathana Dharma with that of modern Western life—that two ideals are held up by the one and by the other, of which the Eastern is the idea of *duty*, and the Western that of *rights*. Now, on the difference between those two fundamental conceptions of human organization, of national life, the whole of the future will turn.

As you know, the fundamental thought of the people of the East has been the thought embodied

in that one word *Dharma* Every man has his Dharma But what does Dharma mean ? It means the obligations into which every man is born, the obligations which surround him from the moment of his birth The obligations to the family, the obligations to the community, the obligations to the nation—these are the *Dharma* into which every human being comes by the gateway of birth It is not an arbitrary thing but a natural one It is not a thing which is created, but it is a thing which comes out of the long course of evolution And out of that fundamental idea of Dharma comes the thought that the first thing in human life which makes it possible is the fact that that obligation is recognized and righteously discharged When the baby is born into the family helpless, unable to feed itself, lying there without strength, without ability, naked, feeble, what is it that preserves the life of the babe ? It is the duty of the mother and of the father, the duty of the elder to the younger, the sense of obligation which surrounds, helps, guards and preserves the babe through the years of childhood and of youth , out of that discharge of duty to the child grows the obligation of the child to the family and the community The elders guard the child in infancy The child in its manhood must repay the obligations in its turn Thus you come to the idea of Manu of the debts which every man is bound to pay, the debt to the *Devas* for giving him the whole of the natural advantages, the whole of the gifts of nature by which alone life is possible , the debt to the ancestors whose labours he has inherited, and by the fruits of whose progress his life is rendered possible to day, his debt to the human beings around him, to the animals below him, his debt

to the Sages of the past, all these he comes into ; they make the obligations into which he is born, which he must pay back by the useful life of the man, the father and the citizen. Out of that idea of human duty, out of that recognition of human obligation, out of the realisation that we are beings on whom duty has a claim—out of that grows the stability and the orderly progress of human society.

Now, in the West, another idea grew up which is really less than two centuries old—it is the idea that the human being is not a part of an organization but is an isolated individual, that he stands alone and apart, and that the fact of birth clothes him with certain rights. The "declaration of the rights of man," the famous historical episode, sums up in a single statement that modern idea of human and national life. According to that, society is not based on a common obligation; it is based on the inherent rights of the individual which he may enforce by any means in his power. Law is only binding, because people have accepted it and consented to it, and not because it is based on nature and expresses the Divine Will. Kings, according to this, rule not by the grace of God, but only by the acceptance of the people. Everything is based on the idea of the right of the individual, which he only yields partially in order that he may enjoy the remainder the more fully. His interests are antagonistic to the interests of others, instead of being common and universally binding upon all. This idea has grown and spread during the last 150 years. The result has been continual struggle, disturbance and difficulty. The assembly of the nation is no longer the representative of the nation as a whole, but merely of a body of interests, one con-

flucting with the other. The members of the modern Houses of Legislature do not represent the common interests of the whole nation, and so you have the modern struggle, the modern turmoil, the modern quarrels, and the danger of the dissolution of the modern civilization.

But, strangely enough, there has come in the West a reinforcement of the Eastern ideal. Science has grown up and science has studied nature. Instead of manufacturing paper constitutions and imaginary rights of man, science has declared that human beings, like all other things, are the result of evolution, and that individuality is subordinate to the common good, and the benefit of a part is subordinate to the good of the whole. Science is again declaring that society is an organism, and not a body of people based on an imaginary contract. Science is declaring, again, one life, as religion has always been declaring it, and just as Hinduism has proclaimed the one Life, the universal Spirit, and *therefore* the solidarity of man, so is modern science declaring one life and one consciousness in all, and, therefore, that society is a growing organism, in which every one has duties growing out of his life in the social unity. Thus, from the West is coming the reinforcement of the ancient theory of Dharma of the East, and it is for the East to proclaim now the predominance, the superiority of an organization that demands from every man discharge of duty, and to realise that, on that discharge alone, the whole well-being of society depends. But that is not the only vitalising influence which the Sanathana Dharma exercises on the world. It proclaims also the necessity of *Order*.

There again Western Science is beginning to

strengthen the Eastern religion. Science also proclaims Law and Order as the essential conditions of progress. Science has discovered that only by order is it possible for humanity to evolve. Of all the codes of human life that have ever been given to the world, that code which is known by the name of Manu—the great Law-giver—is the most orderly and the most perfect in its arrangement. Here is another gift that you have in your hands to give to the Western world.

After the idea of Dharma, what are the next ideas that come forward in the Hindu polity? The next idea is that all mankind is divided into two enormous groups : one walking on the path of pursuit, the *Pravritti Marga*—the path of going forth; and the other, that of those who are turning their faces homeward, that are treading the *Nivritti Marga*. How does this apply to human life? It shows us that the ordinary life of man, the common life of every day, is but a part of the divinely ordained evolution by which the progress of humanity is governed ; and on the path of going forth, the *Pravritti Marga*, are laid down the rightful objects of all human effort. First comes the Dharma that I have spoken of, the duty that guides and limits ; and then *Artha*—possessions in the widest sense, all that the world has to give and all that man is able to possess. Man, according to Hindu Dharma, is not to be an ascetic while he is treading the *Pravritti Marga*. He is told, on the contrary, that the enjoyments of possessions, the gathering of wealth, progress in worldly matters, all belong rightfully and usefully to that path of pursuit. Those who know the Hindu Dharma will realize that this is so, and that, in modern India, much confusion has arisen, with the result that this teaching is for the

most part forgotten Modern India has talked too much of the path of return—the *Nivritti Marga*—quite forgetting that that is the path for the few, while the path of forthgoing is the path for the many They forget that Manu laid down for his children, the pursuit of possessions, and the enjoyment of pleasure *Astha* and *Kama* are the objects of the path of pursuit limited and guided by Dharma How much more wise was the ancient Law-giver than are many of our modern teachers, those who would have every man an ascetic, those who declare that renunciation is the only rightful path of human life Manu, the Law-giver, is the wisest of the Divine rulers of man, and Manu realized that, for national prosperity, effort and enjoyment were needed, that it was right that those who were evolving should evolve their faculties by effort and by enjoyment, and so possessions and pleasure were made part of the path of foregoing And the great masses of the people were pointed to that as the path by which progress was to be made Only when a man has trodden that path, only when he has developed high intelligence, only when he has developed unselfishness and the pure love of God, then he is ready to turn his face homeward and tread the path of renunciation. Then it is that *Bhakti*, the love of God, takes the place of *Kama*—the love of the objects of desire Then it is that the *Siddhis*, and the powers that they give, take the place of the worldly possessions, which are to be used only for the benefit of man and not for the gain of the possessor Then it is that, instead of the outward law of Dharma imposing duty from without, there comes *Mukti*, the freedom of the Self made manifest, who needs no law from without, because he realizes his

divinity, and, forsaking all Dharma, he becomes one with the Supreme Being, and the Divine Will is his. Such is the course of human life according to Manu, balanced, rational and useful for all. No asceticism, premature and therefore useless, but the full development of faculties ; only when these have been developed may come the turning home, the treading of the path to liberation. Step by step, in orderly and progressive fashion, Manu bids man tread the path of human life.

The last of the great principles given by Manu for the evolution of man is what is called the *Varnashrama* ; *varna*, the stage of the human soul, the ego, the division of men into classes according to their characteristics ; and *ashrama*, the stages of the individual life through which each should repeatedly pass.

Now, much is said for and against caste—something in its favour by those who know the turmoil of classes in the West, something against it by those in India who feel its barriers rather than its value, and resent the privileges claimed by some, because duty has been forgotten by these while only privileges are claimed. And yet, rightly looked at, that four-fold division brings a detailed answer to the problems of human life aforementioned. What is the first problem that is pressing on every nation ? That of the education of the young. There is not an assembly in the world from the parliament of Great Britain to the Legislative Council of the Viceroy down to the smallest Municipality that has to guide the welfare of a part of the community—there is not one that is not standing puzzled and bewildered before the great problem of the education of the people. How should that be solved ? There is one way—though.

no public leader yet has suggested it—that has within it the power of solution, and that is by the recognition of real castes, and among them the caste of teachers. Your Dharma as Brahmanas—those of you who are Brahmanas—is not the gathering of wealth and the holding of places of power, but the gathering of knowledge and the imparting of that knowledge to the people. If the Brahmanas would only do that duty as Brahmanas, then there would be no educational problems in India to day. But the Brahmanas, instead of doing their duty by imparting instruction, are busy in administering justice—which is properly the function of the Kshatriya, they are busy gathering wealth—which is properly the duty of the Vaishya. Worldly men rebel against the Brahmana because he has forgotten his duty and no longer fills his proper position in the State. If we had true Brahmanas in India, all educational problems would be solved, for there would be Brahmanas in every village, and every village would have its teachers, and then education would be given as duty, as in the older time, and not for money as at present. You may say “This a very fine idea, but how are you going to persuade your Brahmana caste to give up all power and make itself available to promote the welfare of the people?” I don’t expect to get it from the grown-up men, those who are middle aged and mature, those who are old and hardened by the life of the world, and I am sure no words of mine would move them to have recourse to the path of renunciation which is the path of the Brahmana. But I have hope in the younger men of India, who are growing up to day in Schools and Colleges. I have hope in those sons of India, who are vowing themselves to the public

veal, and are ready to labour for the public good. I believe that we shall see growing up a new Brahmana Caste, a caste which will be known by quality more than by birth, and by characteristics more than by outward marks, a class that will see the glory of sacrifice, a class that will realize the happiness of renunciation ; these young men, full of enthusiasm, full of passionate devotion, who have in them the passion of self-devotion, which ought to be the mark of a Brahmana, in these is my hope ; and I believe that we shall find actually growing up in India an order of young men who, between the time when College life ends and the householders' life begins, will give themselves up to some years of service to the welfare of the nation, and give that service to the masses of the people in order to elevate, guide and inspire them. It is on the young men of India that I place my hope for the redemption of the masses of India from ignorance and degradation.

And so, when it is realised that the problems of Government, the problems of legislation, the problems of the administration of justice, the problems of the Army and of the Navy, and of the Police, are all problems that belong to the old Manu's ideal of the Kshatriya Caste ; when it is realised that the Kshatriyas are the defenders and guardians of the nation, that it is on them that the burden of guiding the nation should fall as a matter of duty ; then we shall have growing up a caste of Kshatriyas, educated for their work, and capable of performing it most efficiently. Then we shall see disappearing all discontent, arising from the oppression of the people by any of those who carry on the nation's working to-day. For instance, let me speak of the Police. These are fundamentally

a part of the great Kshatriya caste by their office. We know how many complaints are made in India against men taken from the lower grades of society, who are invested with authority they are constantly tempted to misuse. If we realize that, for public service, training in youth is necessary, if we realize that those who are to take the varied Offices in the State, even the lowest of them, should be trained for those Offices in youth, if it were understood that when a man joins the Police he should have been trained for his responsibilities previously, if it is only realized that he should have been trained here as the Police are trained in England, if it were only realized that for purposes of public service, he should be the friend of the common people, how different would be the feelings of people in India towards the Police and how willing would be the help given by the ordinary citizen whenever he was asked for it in the name of Law? It is when you realize the functions necessary for the well being of a community, that you realize the wisdom of the ancient Law giver. How he made the functions separate in order that each class might discharge the same well! The teacher was one class, the warrior, the protector, another, the merchant, a third class, the makers of wealth, in order that thereby the nation as a whole might prosper.

Looking for a moment at modern India, such a sketch as I am giving to you now seems an impossible Utopia. But nothing is impossible, for thought creates action, and that which a man thinks inevitably comes to pass. We want to hold up the old ideal, not to force any man to follow it, if he does not see it to be admirable. We hold it up, that all men may see it. It will gradually dominate the public mind and bring about its

realization. When we are able to reform a caste of teachers, a caste of legislators and administrators of justice, a caste of those who organise industry and accumulate wealth, a class of manual labourers who follow a particular craft or a particular art which is needed for the welfare of the people—all equally honourable and equally necessary, and all equally essential to the nation's welfare ; and when the old idea of duty returns and each knows his duty and does it ; then shall we again make the golden age, and a happier day shall break upon our earth. For this is what the West is looking for to-day. It realizes its own turmoil. It realizes its own dislocation. It realizes that constant struggle cannot be the natural and the fitting state of man. It is gradually despairing of the feasibility of its methods, and is looking elsewhere for light. Where should the light come from ? From the East, where the Sun is ever shining, where the laws of the Great Law-giver were given to all his Aryan children, not only to those who settled in India, but to those who wandered Westward and lost their way to their father's home. So, here in India, this ideal can again be restored, adapted to modern ways, flexible, as it was in the older time. If, as in the past, men's qualities were regarded as well as their family, then family would take its rightful place as one of the factors in human evolution, which is largely dependent on physical heredity ; but to-day the Ego that comes into any particular body is often unsuitable ; because Dharma has been neglected, there is confusion of caste to-day. Because the higher castes have not done their duty, physical heredity is no longer a guide to caste as it was in the older days, and yet physical heredity is a law of nature and cannot

wisely be ignored in natural life. Sometimes, men wonder how all the sub castes have sprung up. They have often sprung up by natural differentiation in the quality of the physical body which follows a special occupation of brain or hand. There is no caste in England, but you find that in Lancashire, the spinners and weavers of cotton cloths have grown up so much in families, that employers of labour give larger wages to a boy or girl coming from a weaving family than they will give to a similar boy or girl coming from some part of the country, where weaving is not a hereditary occupation. That is the way in which nature works. That is the justification of family trades. Only it has grown far too rigid here in India, and intermarriage and inter-dining are forbidden between sub castes. This is of course one of the things that will have to disappear, for though physical heredity gives variety to the community as a whole, yet it is not necessary constantly to intermarry too closely and thus weaken that strength which you desire to maintain.

Complicated are the questions of national life, and complicated are the problems to be dealt with. But it is in that ancient Law, in the Sanathana Dharma, that answers to the modern problems are to be found. But remember that, according to Manu himself, when circumstances change, the old principles are to be adapted to those changed conditions, for which reason customs should be kept flexible, instead of being inflexible as they are in the India of to day. Much lies in the hands of the educators of the young. All those who follow the ancient rules should bring up the young to work for the reform of India, to make her what she should be, flexible, elastic, adapting herself to the needs

of modern life , but in all they should hold firm to the fundamental principles, for they are the conditions of national prosperity They hold, as I said, the solution of national problems

Now, at the end, to go back to the place from which I started

It is your duty as Hindus, as citizens, to help every effort in your midst which is based on the old principles and try to adapt them to the changed conditions of human life Stretch out your hand in help to all efforts for human improvement, strengthen those of your fellow-citizens whom you find able to guide the young and help the old along the path that combines modern progress with the ancient wisdom And among those efforts, do not forget that we have gathered this evening in order that we may help and strengthen the hands of your fellow citizen in the noble work that he is carrying on, thus making it possible to gather together here the orphans that are helpless, so that they may be guided and disciplined in their early life Join together in the work which will bring credit and glory to your country, and do not let it be said of the town of Bangalore, that when there is a good thing in its midst it is allowed to starve , if it is allowed to perish and then re built, much labour and difficulty will be required to do that which, comparatively easily, might have been carried to success by a little timely and united effort

EDUCATION AS A NATIONAL DUTY.*

OUR subject to night is the subject of Education, one that is of the most vital moment to every thinker and every lover of his country, for on Education depends the future of the land, and no one who has the interest of his country at heart can afford to ignore the question of National Education. I have worded our subject, "Education as a National Duty," and this form of words is chosen because I would thus bring home to you that Education is not so much a matter of the Government as it is the duty of the people. To be really successful it must be taken up, designed, guided, and carried out, by those who are not only the lovers of their country, but who are also men who understand its needs and are well aware of its peculiarities, of its characteristics, and of its traditions. To be truly useful, Education must be founded on a knowledge of the past of the country as well as of its present, it must be designed in accordance with the ancient traditions and national habits, and adapted to modern necessities, to meet at every point the growing needs of an ever increasing nation.

Education, rightly considered, is not a matter chiefly for those who are sometimes called educational experts, I mean, it is not a matter which ought to be exclusively guided and directed by those who are concerned in the carrying out of the work of teaching,

* A lecture delivered in Bombay on March 9th, 1903

i.e., those who form a part either of the Educational Departments, or of the educational staffs of the various collegiate and scholastic institutions of the land. There is always a danger of narrowing too much the lines of activity by what may be called the technical specialised lines of work. A man who has been a teacher all his life will give knowledge in a definite groove ; will give too much consideration to the minutiae of the appointed subjects and too little to the principles of Education ; will think too much of the question of examination and too little of that real Education which turns out men developed on all sides, and able to take up the work of men in the world. We always find that a specialist is bound to become too narrow, too dogmatic, and too wedded to particular fashions ; and for that reason, in dealing with Education, you want to rouse on the question intelligent and popular opinion : the opinions of statesmen, of patriots, of officials, of men of business, of fathers, of guardians of the young, should come into the Councils of all educational institutions. They should bring thither their experience of the world, their knowledge of the country, and their insight into the needs and possibilities of the country, to shape a wide scheme of Education and to carry it out in an effective way.

You will see exactly what I mean by the danger of having Education guided only by a narrow type of experts, when you look at the Education given to-day in this country. True Education is subordinated to the wants of the examination room ; far more time is given to guessing what the examiner is likely to set in the way of questions, and trying to cram the boy with " notes " that will give him success in his examination, than to

the training of the boy in a way that will make him an intelligent citizen. What is wanted in Education is that such men as I have named above should formulate a correct theory, and then give it to the professional educationists to be carried into practice. We want men of wide knowledge of the country on the one side, and educational experts on the other.

I will put this more definitely. In my own personal experience I have had some means of judging of the kind of work that is the most useful and proper preparation for dealing with Education. In my own personal life I have had experience along three lines. Two in the line of an educational expert, as a Member of the great School Board of London, having had the duty of looking after a large number of schools personally, and of debating all questions arising on general educational policy ; at another time, for several years I discharged the duty of teaching classes, under South Kensington, and was exceptionally successful in results. But I consider that those two lines of experience, useful as they were, are comparatively useless as compared with the experience that I have gained as a student of national life, as a student of the needs of different classes in society and of the ways in which those needs may be met, as a student of politics and of social questions ; these studies give the most useful results in the shaping of educational schemes. That is the experience which is needed to decide on the knowledge to be given in the class-room, while the method of the giving is rightly within the administration of the Educational Department.

This is why I call Education a national duty. There may be many of you who are not accustomed to pre-

paring the time-tables for schools or colleges ; many of you have done little work in the drawing up of a definite curriculum. You would find that a very hard task. Many of you would be unable, if you were to attempt to make a list of useful text books, to frame such a list with success. But if you study your country and know the kind of men that your country needs ; if you have experience, whether in the Government service, whether in administrative work, whether in a judicial capacity, whether in the working of manufactures, commerce or science, that experience enables you to judge the kind of men that India needs ; and when you know the kind of men that are wanted, then it is easy to frame a scheme of Education which will provide men to meet the necessities of the land.

I think, then, that every thoughtful man and woman should study the question of Education, and form on it a definite rational opinion. Only thus can Education be rightly guarded, and the tendency of its becoming too mechanical, too formal and too separate from the real life of the nation thus be guarded against. Let me illustrate what I mean by one case which will show you graphically the distinction between the technical expert and the man who has wide knowledge of the country and insight into its needs. Take the example of the English Parliament. Its duty is to make laws, and therefore, according to the principle of some of the educationists, only lawyers should be members of Parliament : men of all types should not be found there, and all public criticism and all public advice should be shut out from a Parliament which should be composed only of legal experts. But every one knows that such a Parliament would be utterly inadequate for

the needs of the Empire. What is wanted in Parliament is a body of men who understand the country's needs, its wants, and its powers. The most varied experiences, men from all lines of life, are sought. The lawyer members are a very small minority, and they are wanted in Parliament not so much for the decision of the principles of the laws required, as for the technical drawing up of the law itself, and the giving of accurate details for the definite working out of the law. And so for us in Education, we want the technical knowledge of experts for the working out of programme, but the programme itself should be made by the wisest heads in the nation.

I said just now that Education is not so much a matter for the Government as for the nation. One of the difficulties of Education in India is the fact that it is too much a Government affair. I was glad to see Sir Michael Hicksbeach, one of the leading English statesmen, lately declaring at Aligarh that the Universities should be entirely free from the Government control, that Government had nothing to do, or ought to have nothing to do, with the Universities. That is the case in England and the system works perfectly well. The Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, Dublin, Glasgow and Edinburgh have all grown out of private endowments, endowments given by Kings, nobles or gentlemen. They rest on donations of great and philanthropic men, they were founded by patriots in the past, and are supported by patriots in the present, they do not look to Government for monetary support. For, wherever money is taken from Government, Government has the right and the duty to supervise the way in which that money is employed.

What is wanted in Education is that the country itself should build its Universities and support its Schools.

The Universities should have the wisest heads of the country on their Councils, but they should not be under Government. You can see how the system works in the United Kingdom. You find there that many a statesman covets the post of what is called the Rectorship of one of the great Universities. A man like Lord Rosebery, a late Prime Minister and probably a future Prime Minister, has stood for the Rectorship of the Glasgow University. He has been elected there as a thinker, a statesman, and a patriot, and not as a Prime Minister of the Empire.

The more in this way you can link the institutions and the nation together, the better for the land ; and what we want in the Senates of our Universities now is that they should be bodies recruited from all that is most thoughtful, most cultured, most patriotic and most self-sacrificing in the country. They should not be half filled with nominees who know nothing of Education. That is the kind of reform that you want in Education here. You must have independent, learned and patriotic bodies, which shall make the Education of the young their primary aim.

To pass from that to what ought to be the aim of Education ; the aim of Education at the present time in India appears to be the gaining of a degree, and when you ask : "Why do people want a degree ?" the answer is : "That they may go into Government service or into the learned professions." A man becomes a Bachelor of Arts not that he may know literature, not that he may understand history, not that he may be a student of philosophy, but that he may

be a Vakil or a Government servant. Now the getting of a degree is not the true aim of Education. The aim of Education is to draw out all the faculties of the boy on every side of his nature, to develop in him every intellectual and moral power, and to strengthen him physically, emotionally, mentally and spiritually, that he may turn out at the end of his College career a useful, patriotic, pious gentleman, who respects himself and respects those around him. Education is a failure when it is simply cramming the boy's head with a lot of disjointed facts, poured into his head as into a basket, to be emptied out again in the examination room, and the empty basket carried out again into the world. It is not a good education which, when a boy has passed his examination, leaves him a nervous wreck, exhausted as to his body and overstrained as to his brain. When a boy goes out of his College, he should be full of life, full of vigour, full of energy, and full of delight in his young life, to take up the burden of the work of the world. He should not be nerve exhausted and nerve overstrained, when he has finished his educational career. I have often seen boys so anxious about the result of the examination that they were ill. In some cases, when lads failed in their examination they committed suicide. That is a horrible thing—a shocking commentary on the pressure that was put on the lad's young and tender frame. To exhaust the strength, to destroy the energy, to turn out a sickly worn out man, when the youth should be brimming over with life, has been the result of the system of Education prevalent in the land.

What is the Education that we require? I used just now four words in describing the nature of the boy.

First, "physically"—unless a boy's body is strong and healthy he cannot, as a man, do all he should in life and for his country. The training of the boy's body is as important a part of Education as the training of his mind. His body should be kept frugally and simply, so that he may be strong and healthy, and not indolent and lazy. He should be trained in gymnastic exercises and in games of every kind. He should be trained to regard his body as an instrument for working in the world. His duty to his body is a part of his duty to his country and to himself. No school, no college does its duty where physical training is not definitely a part of its curriculum. The physical training does not really stop with the body, as when we speak of the training by games. Has it ever struck you, while scrutinising Indian character, what are some of the qualities that most need to be developed in the young? They are : quickness of thought, alertness in understanding the situation, swiftness of decision, promptitude of action, and accuracy of judgment. These qualities are wanted to make a good citizen and a useful man, and these are the qualities which are largely developed on the playing-field, in the games. The boy learns in the games alertness and quickness in seeing his opportunity, and promptitude in using it. He learns to work with others by subordinating himself to a common object, and to subordinate his own success to that of his side. He learns the very qualities which are wanted in the man of action, in the true patriot. I would rather at present see an Indian boy skilfully playing on the play-ground than working in his class-room ; because there is no doubt about the brilliancy of his intelligence, but there is a very great doubt about his practical capacity. That

is too often lying dormant. Rouse it then by training and development.

Secondly, I used the word "emotionally." It is necessary in our national education to give a most important place to what is called "Moral Education." Let us pause for a moment to consider what is meant by "Moral." Let us see exactly what we mean. We find in ourselves certain things that we call emotions and feelings. As we study emotion, we recognise the enormous part that it plays in life. As we study emotion, we find that out of emotion grow up all the attractions that make a family, a town, a community, and a nation—that bind men together into nations and peoples. We notice also that, on the other side, from emotions also grow up all the forces that pull down as well as construct ; by emotion families are disintegrated, communities are broken up, and nations are destroyed. While on the one side emotion builds society, on the other side it breaks it down. The moment this is recognised, the culture of emotion is seen to be of vital importance for the State and for the nation, and we find, on further study, that every virtue and every vice has its root in emotion. Virtuous is the man who discharges to all around him the obligations that arise in his relation with them. The virtuous man performs these duties as perfectly as if love between him and others were the only motive of action. Each father does his duty to his son because he loves him ; each brother does his duty to his brother because he loves him ; so a man should do his duty to all the weak and the inferior as to his sons, to all his equals as to his brothers. He recognises the bond of duty to all around him. He recognises that he owes to all that which he gives to his dear ones by the

inspiration of love. Thus does the love-emotion work out in our relation with each other ; as a permanent mood it is virtue, and it builds up families and states. But emotion of the opposite kind, the hate-emotion, is the root of all vices, and it breaks up human relations, drives men apart from each other, and leads them to destruction. All the vices that ruin nations grow out of the hate-emotion between man and man. When this is recognised, the culture of emotion necessarily becomes a vital part of Education. You must teach your boy to cultivate emotion on the side of love, the emotion which grows into virtues. You must teach him to discourage emotion on the side of hate, the emotion which grows into vices. You must teach him to love his fellows as if they belonged to his family, and to love his nation as if it were a part of his family. You must teach him that national life depends on the unity of the organism that we call a nation. Take an educated man whose emotional training has been neglected ; how can he carry out the work of the world ? He thinks of his own gain, his own advantage and his own prosperity, but he does not look to the national welfare. He thinks how he can profit, but not how his nation may thrive. He thinks how he may grow rich, but not how the nation may be prosperous. That individual, therefore, strikes at the root of the national welfare and brings about the decay of the people.

A father, who has gained wealth selfishly, without regard to the national good, sees the nation growing less and less prosperous, and he knows that his own children and grand-children have to be members of that decaying nation, and that his selfishness has undermined his family as well as injured his nation. A man who has only

thought of his own gain and of his own advancement finds that the other parts of the nation are suffering, and that he is compelled to share the sufferings with them. A number of men rush into Government service, or into the learned professions, thinking only of getting on in the world. But what meanwhile happens to India? Her agriculture gradually grows less and less effective, her industries decay, her manufactures fail, and her wealth is diminished. Does the successful lawyer escape from the result of the general national decay, and can he separate himself off from the descent of the people? Agriculture does not affect the agricultural labourers alone, or the landholders alone; every class of the community suffers when the agricultural results are poor. God has bound the classes of the nation together, and the national prosperity depends upon the public spirit of the people, upon the consideration of the whole nation, and upon the subordination of individual gains to the general good and the common prosperity.

These lessons your boys should learn while their minds are plastic, and while their hearts are enthusiastic, in the days of their youth. You must hold up before them the great ideal, you must fire their hearts with love for this land, you must teach them their past in order that they may create the greater future, and you must ask them to love their country in order that that country may rise in the scale of nations. Think what these boys are—boys now, they are the coming citizens of the country; boys for the moment, they are the creators of India in the near future. You who are grown up are the India of to-day, but the India of the future depends on the young boys. That is why every statesman, every great statesman, concerns himself with the Education of the young.

That is why men like Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury concerned themselves with the question of Education. They knew that the future of the nation depends on the boys in the school, and just as those boys are trained the future of the nation will be. Moral education, thus, is vital for the future of India.

My third was "mentally." On the intellectual side of education I was speaking to you the other day, and I need not repeat what then I said. I would only remind you that what is most wanted in that intellectual Education is a scientific Education rather than an exclusively literary one, an Education that will add to the productive resources of the country and not lead only to the learned professions. I do not mean that the learned professions are not necessary for the welfare of the State. They are entirely necessary, but they should not absorb the whole of the brilliant intelligences of the country, and starve the other side of national life, which is equally wanted for the welfare of the people. And let me add to this the bearing of Education on commerce. In the days of old you were a great commercial people; you were great shipbuilders, sending your ships over the whole world and carrying on a great commerce. You may read history, and you will find that, only some three hundred years ago, ships built in India sailed up the Thames to London, and were regarded with envy and admiration because of their admirable workmanship. You will find that you had plenty of good sailors, plenty of enterprising merchants, and plenty of men who carried on the active work of commerce, enriching their country at the same time that they enriched themselves. Unless you educate your trading classes, you will never revive that commerce

of the past. Shrewd as the commercial classes are, they are too narrow in their views, and too wedded to their particular fashions, to do what is needed for the nation. We should educate them by tens, hundreds and thousands, and so give back to India the possibilities of active commercial life. Along that line intellectual Education should go, so that India may be what she really should be, a nation with all sides of the national life fully developed. Look at your national life now, and you will see how partial it is, how onesided it is, and how wanting it is in the manifold activities which are necessary for a great nation.

My fourth word was "spiritually." In India things have gone from bad to worse in this connection. Government colleges teach no religion at all; the missionary colleges teach a religion which is alien to the spirit and genius of the country. The boy has to choose between no religious teaching at all, and the teaching of a religion which is different from his own. That is the worst defect of Education in India, and see how dangerous it becomes. The late Bishop of Calcutta, taking advantage of there being no religious Education of the Indian youth, tried to persuade the Government to introduce into all schools religious teaching based on the Bible, *i.e.*, on Christian lines. Fortunately that attempt has failed, because popular feeling was roused by it, and the plan was seen to be dangerous. If every religious community gave religious Education to its children, if the Hindu community afforded Hindu religious instruction, if the Mussalmans gave instruction in the faith of Islam, if the Parsis gave instruction in the Zoroastrian religion, and so on, leaving Christianity to be taught to the Christians only, then the religious Education

of the country would proceed along proper and healthy lines. Again, it is not just to blame Government for want of religious Education. Government cannot give it, and it ought not to give it, lest it should infringe the religious neutrality on which the peace of India depends. Government is pledged to "No religious interference." Government must not do it ; you ought to do it yourselves. Every community here should take up the question of religious Education. Now two of the great communities in India, the Hindus and the Mussalmans, are beginning to deal effectively with the question of religious Education. The Mussalmans have set an example in this direction by the foundation of their college at Aligarh. The Hindus are following in the same important path by the foundation of the Central Hindu College at Benares. You have thus two educational institutions for the two communities, that is, for two hundred and fifty millions of Hindus, and something like fifty or sixty millions of Mussalmans ! It is but a drop in the ocean, a grain of sand on the sea-shore. Nevertheless it is a beginning.

Now let me turn for a moment to the Central Hindu College, so that I may show you that the theory which I have been putting before you is not simply a theory, but is being carried out in practice. I am not so familiar with the workings in the Aligarh College, and therefore cannot speak definitely of that College. As regards the Hindu College, it was supposed, before we began to work, that the question of religious and moral Education was a thorny one ; when we began we were told : " You cannot teach religion, because there will be endless sectarian troubles ; you will have complaints from the parents of all the youths ; it is impossible to teach

religion to all the boys." We have not found it impossible, for every day in the College hall the boys gather together listening to the chant of the *Bhagavad-Gitâ* ; they also listen to a Pandit expounding some doctrine with some moral illustration from the stories from the *Râmâyana*, from the *Mûhabhârata*, and from the *Purânas*. Where is the Hindu who would object to such moral instruction ? Then two or three boys (they take it in turn so that all may have an opportunity) come forward, and, standing, facing their school-fellows, chant together some *stotra* full of religious feeling and moral instruction. Where is the Hindu who would withdraw his boy from the teaching given in that College ? That is not all that we have done. We have now taken a further step. We have issued two out of a series of three text-books, and the third will be issued about the end of this month or the beginning of the next. These books give a clear and definite outline of Hindu doctrines, Hindu ceremonies and Hindu ethics. The first is a little catechism, meant for little boys and girls in the Primary Standards. The second is meant for the middle and upper classes in the High Schools. The third, which will soon be out, is for students in the Colleges. On this third book, of which the others are simplifications, have been obtained the opinions of the leading men in the Hindu community, both orthodox and liberal ; we asked them to read and criticise it, and after making any necessary additions or omissions, to send it back corrected. This was done, and we have thus a general consensus of opinion of the leading men of different shades of opinion, endorsing this text-book. It has been a laborious work, and has taken two-and-a-half

years altogether in order to complete it. But what are two-and-a-half years in the national life, if you can thus give to the nation what it wants in religious instruction? Now, all those who want to introduce religious teaching have the means ready to their hands. The Indian States are readily taking this series up, one after another, and are introducing religious instruction in the State schools. Some of the leading Princes in India are co-operating in this righteous work. Wherever there is a private college or school under Hindu management, there these text-books should be introduced and used as guides for teaching. There is one difficulty about the teacher. We want men who can teach rightly and in an interesting way, and not merely Pandits who will deal with questions of grammar and with the niceties of the commentators. This is one of our needs. Now what the Hindu community has done, others should do. The Parsi community should provide their children with a similar series of text-books. The Mussalman and other communities should also supply their children with a similar series of text-books. I fancy that perhaps it would be possible for each community to take the outlines of the moral teaching from our series of text-books, and only change the quotations and stories. We have given quotations from the Shastras, supporting morality from the Hindu books, but morality is the same for the Parsis as for the Hindus. The Parsis should give quotations from their own sacred literature. Morality again is the same for the Mussalmans as for the Hindus and the Parsis. The Mussalmans should support it by quotations from Al Quarn. The various quotations from the scriptures of different religions would all support the same virtues. I think

if that is done, that you would begin to build the Indian nation which we so earnestly desire to have. It does not seem quite impossible that, if we give these moral teachings on similar lines, we may gradually build up in the country a body, which will gradually weld itself into an Indian nation.

Moreover, I hope to see, in days to come, a Mussalman University growing out of the Aligarh College, and a Hindu University growing out of the Benares College, so that these Universities may lead the national life of India, as the Oxford and Cambridge Universities lead the national life of England. I say that it is not impossible, if only all of you will take interest in the matter, and look on it as your own affair and as your own business.

There is one other point which I want to put before you. We have one peculiar thing in the Hindu College. Every boy who comes into the English department is obliged to learn Samskrit. We have also a Pathshala, and every boy who comes to join it is obliged to learn English, so that the English-educated boys have to know Samskrit, and the Samskrit-educated boys have to know English. This is a great innovation. You may say : " Why do you do it ? Do you not see that there are two Hindu nations in this land—one of Pandits, profound in their learning, scholarship, thought and knowledge, but knowing nothing outside Samskrit literature. They know nothing of modern thought, modern life, the modern spirit. On the other side there is a Hindu nation growing up, knowing nothing of Samskrit literature and of the sacred Books, growing up utterly Westernised. There is a great gulf between them and

the nation of Pandits. The Pandit cannot influence the English-educated boy, because he does not sympathise with him in his hopes and aspirations. You cannot influence the young unless you sympathise and feel with them. We want to bridge the gulf between these Hindu nations, and we build this double bridge of Samskrit and English. We lead both classes over it, so that both shall know English and both know Samskrit; we thus hope to join the two Hindu nations and make them one in the service of their Motherland.

That is the work that we are carrying on in Benares, and I venture to say that it is a work in which every good Hindu should take the keenest interest, I want you all to think of us and to give us your good-will. I want you to make a public opinion, which will enable the Benares College to grow into a University, and to have daughter colleges in all the great cities in the land, where the students will learn Hindu religion and Western culture, and will know the West without becoming aliens from their ancestral faith. It is the mightiest enterprise for which I ask your sympathy, your good-will and your financial aid. I know that it will succeed, because the blessings of the great Ones are on it. I know it will succeed, because it is for the benefit of the future of India, which is at the heart of every one of us. But that future depends on Indians, and on no other people and on no other country. The Indian nation will not grow by the influence of any other nation, but by the growth of character within India's own boundary. England can never make you free. You can only make yourselves free by becoming noble and upright, brave and true. Nations made of such men *must* be free. Your destiny lies in your own hands.

Your future is to be of your creating. You must build the basis of noble character, and of the public spirit which shows itself in true citizenship. You must prove yourselves worthy to be a part of a mighty Empire. As Lord George Hamilton has rightly said, India must be governed on the basis of Indian feelings, Indian traditions, Indian thought and Indian ideas. That is true. It is possible, that if India only grows up to the height of her possibilities, that the time will come when she will send her best and noblest counsellors to take their part in a great Imperial Council, gathered round the Monarch for the ruling of the Empire. I dream of a time when India will help to build the Empire with that genius for statesmanship and clear insight which are found from time to time in great Indian ministers. These qualities will be utilised for the good of the Empire, for the good of the mighty whole of which India is a part. The times are gone by for small nations, for petty States, and for little peoples. The tendency now is towards raising a vast realm, united by common aims and common love. India in the future should aid to build such an Empire, should help to bear its burdens and share its responsibilities. I dream of a time when India, England, Australasia and Canada will all join hands in the making of a common Empire, when India's children will bring their priceless treasures to the enriching of that Empire. But for this her children must first build their character, for without that they will never be able to accomplish aught.

THE NECESSITY · FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.*

IT is my wish to put before you very plainly and clearly why I believe that religion must be an essential part of all education which is worth the name, why boys should desire it, why teachers should impart it. I propose to set before you certain definite reasons, appealing to your intelligence, why the future of your lives and the future of your country depend chiefly, primarily, on the inclusion of religion in your education, reasons which may impel you, if religious teaching is not already given to you, to earnestly demand it at the hands of those who are responsible for your training. For if the professors in our colleges, the masters of our schools, are so little sensible of the dignity of their high office as to submit to the exclusion of religion from education, degrading education from a preparation for citizenship in this and other worlds to a mere commercial speculation, then must the parents and guardians of students, and the students themselves, imperatively demand that the most important factor in true education should not be omitted therefrom. The law of the State punishes the careless parent who allows his child's body to starve, the law of Karma punishes the thoughtless parent who allows

* A lecture delivered to the Students' Literary Society of Madras, on February 26th, 1908

his child's spiritual nature to be stunted by the withholding of religion.

I am not going to-day to repeat the well-worn arguments drawn from observations of other countries showing how nations rise as they make religion a part of education, and how they sink as they pronounce an unhallowed divorce between the Spirit and the intellect of man. From those observations, India may well draw a lesson for her own guidance, as in truth she may also draw it from the story of her own past. For when she was mightiest in peace and war, when her industry was most productive and her commerce most enriching, she was then, above all else, a religious nation, and religion interpenetrated every action of her family, her social, her political life.

But to-day I speak to you on other lines, and appeal, not to observations on which you may base conclusions, but rather to your reason itself. Along three lines my arguments will run : first, Religion is necessary as the basis for Morality ; secondly, Religion is necessary as the inspiration of Art ; thirdly, Religion is necessary as the foundation of original Literature. If these three positions can be established and maintained, then is Religion necessary for the greatness of a nation, for what kind of a nation can you have without Morality, without Art, without Literature ?

First, then, *Religion is necessary as the basis for Morality.* When you are teaching the duty of doing the right and avoiding the wrong, when you are trying to persuade people to be virtuous, when you are arguing that a man without civic virtues, a man who is not a good father in the family, a good citizen in the State, is not a man who can help in making a nation great and prosperous, you

are apt to be asked in a sort of general way : "Why cannot we teach moral duties by themselves, why cannot we teach men to be truthful and brave, why cannot we teach them to do their duty and to serve their country, without appealing to religion, which is very, very often the cause of turmoil and dissension, which it is desirable to keep in the background rather than draw to the front ?"

The answer to that is that, in teaching morality, you must base your precept, to do or not to do, on some principle recognised by those whom you address. It is not enough to say to a man who is eager to amass money, whose one idea of success is the gathering of a great fortune : "You ought to be honest, you ought to be fair, you ought not to cheat, you ought not to take unfair advantage of your rivals in trade." He will turn round upon you and say : "Why ? why should I be honest and fair ? Why should I not take what advantage I can of others by my cleverer brain, if I just avoid coming into contact with the law, and if these unfair ways help me in gaining my object ?" You require something on which your 'ought' can find a footing, a basis for your moral precepts.

Three bases of morality have been offered by the great thinkers of the world. One school bases morality on Intuition; the second bases it on Utility; the third bases it on Religion. Let us examine each in turn.

The first school bases morality on Intuition, alleging that a man knows by his own nature, that he ought to do the right, that he ought not to do the wrong ; that there is in every man's heart an inner witness which is called Conscience, and which is the voice of God in the human soul; this conscience, it is argued, should be

taken as the foundation for morality, and to its guidance a nation may safely commit the moral direction of its young. The answer to this is that conscience is a very variable quantity, differing among different nations, among different communities, varying with the varied stages of evolution, useful only amid accustomed conditions, and failing when applied to new problems.

It is a truism to remark that some of the most evil actions the world has known have been due to conscience. The Spanish inquisition was founded and carried on by men who conscientiously believed that they were serving God by the torturing and burning of heretics, that they wielded the surgeon's knife to cut out from the bosom of society the cancer of heresy, not the brigand's knife to mutilate and murder. There is truth, though truth brutally expressed, in the answer of the Anglican archbishop to a Puritan who pleaded his conscience in defence of his rebellion against the dictum of the Church: "Verily, thou mayest be acting according to thy conscience; but thou shouldst take care that thy conscience is not the conscience of a fool." That a man should act according to his conscience is right for him, but it by no means follows that his conscientious act is right. By his errors, his conscience is instructed, and he learns to avoid pitfalls in the future by the sufferings caused by his conscience flinging him into pitfalls in the present. Out of the pains resulting from his conscientious wrong actions, is made the ladder by which he climbs to wisdom. Why this is so, we shall see in a moment.

The average conscience of the members of a community, as manifested in its public opinion, is behind, not in advance of, the best ethical thought of its time.

The conscience of average men allows them to do very many things of which a man of noble character will say: "That is against my conscience"; the average conscience is far below that of the greatest thinkers, of the purest saints, of the noblest men of the time. The common average conscience is embodied in the law, and this stamps as criminal the acts which are reprobated at the stage of evolution reached by the large majority of the community. But there are many vices, many evils, which the law is unable to touch. The vices which corrupt the trade and commerce of a country, which rot its commercial honesty, and slowly sap its prosperity, are vices which no law can arrest or punish. Operations on stock exchanges, by which a few clever men reduce to misery numbers of foolish and ignorant people, is a form of robbery which causes far more suffering than burglary, but the law cannot check it. Public morality condones it, even courts the highly successful destroyer, and society smiles on the financier whose operations are on a sufficiently large scale to secure millions, though well knowing that by no morally legitimate means can such gains be heaped together. This shifting, developing, faculty of conscience is no sure foundation for the building of morality.

For what is conscience? It is true that it exists in all save the very undeveloped, but it is only the result of the experience of the past of each individual, and varies with that experience. In past lives, in past births, each man has learned by experience that certain lines of conduct lead to happiness, while others lead to misery. Slowly and gradually, in all the lives that lie behind you, your experience has shaped itself into definite judgments, and with the tendency to follow these judgments, you

are born. And as the experiences of each differ from those of others in details, so each man's conscience differs slightly from that of his neighbour ; and as the total experiences of people, at about the same stage of evolution, have their broad outlines in common, so men at about the same grade have broadly similar consciences. And as the experiences that lie behind great men are more numerous, more varied, more rich, than those which lie behind the average man, so are their consciences more highly developed than the consciences of their less developed neighbours. In general morality, you can appeal effectively only to the average conscience, the average moral sense of the hearers ; you cannot draw from them a response to the verdict of a more highly evolved conscience, nor impose its decision upon them, any more than you can obtain from a violin string a note higher than that which is yielded by the most rapid vibrations which it is capable of producing. Conscience grows with civilisation, with knowledge, with the increasing number of lives ; it is quickened by training, by education, by contact with the more highly developed. But not on the shifting sands of conscience can morality be founded. Not from its many-voiced opinions can a categorical imperative be drawn.

Let us turn to Utility, and see whether that can yield us the basis which we need. Of the school which advocates this as a basis, the maxim is: That which conduces to the happiness of the greatest number is right. Many of the most thoughtful people in the West, many philosophers and sociologists, are to be found in this school, and they argue that Utility is the only reliable basis of morality. They argue that you can discover what is right by a study of human experience, by tracing out the

results of various lines of conduct. The conduct that results in happiness is right ; that which results in misery is wrong. In this there is a great truth ; right conduct, in the long run, brings happiness ; wrong conduct, in the long run, brings misery. That which brings about universal happiness—not the happiness of the greatest number only—is right ; but a result is not a basis, and while the Right leads ultimately to universal Bliss, the bliss is so distant, and the immediate results of right action are often so painful to the right doer, that the imperative which is based on Utility fails to win allegiance, save from the noblest and the most unselfish, those who need least a moral law outside them, being, in truth, a law unto themselves. William Kingdon Clifford, a famous mathematical and scientific thinker, and one of the noblest and purest of men, spoke in most eloquent and moving language upon the duty that lay upon every man and woman to pay back to the society of the present the debt they owed to the society of the past. He urged that all the advantages into which we are born, the brains which have been moulded by the thoughts of unnumbered generations, the social order evolved by the efforts of the countless thinkers, statesmen, rulers, labourers, the wealth piled up by innumerable toilers—all these are not for our making, but are the gifts of the dead to the living, and should be handed on increased, enriched, as the gifts of the living to the yet unborn. Every one of us, he argued, was protected, guarded, educated, nurtured, by the whole past humanity, the results of whose labours were summed up in social organisation, in civil order, in the laws of nations, in the comity of peoples. Receiving so much as the accumulations of

the past, we were bound, by honour and honesty, to add to those accumulations the results of our own labours, and so bequeath to posterity a larger and richer legacy. He declared that those who would not work for the future, who did not feel and discharge the obligations incurred by receiving benefits from the past, were men and women unworthy, degraded, unfit heirs of the splendid legacy of the past. Such an appeal stirs to its depths every noble spirit, and the highly-unfolded mind and heart respond to it in every fibre of their being, but it leaves cold and unmoved the average man of our time. I remember how, in a splendid lecture delivered by Charles Bradlaugh, he expressed himself on this with burning eloquence. Answering the statement that a man would not do right unless he looked for a personal reward, for an immortal happiness on the other side of death, he repudiated the idea with all the passionate indignation of a man on fire with love for humanity, with all the beauty of his magnificent oratory. It was not necessary, he cried, to appeal to human selfishness in order to inspire man to the achievement of noble deeds. "Enough for me, if the great citadel of truth, into which I may not enter, shall have its possession by humanity made the nearer because I have fought ; enough for me, if my body, falling into the moat which surrounds that castle, helps to make the bridge over which mankind shall march to victory." There is no doubt of the splendour of that conception. There is no doubt of the greatness of the soul which could find sufficient reward for sacrifice, for suffering, for renunciation, in the hope that in the future, when he was dead, when nothing—as he firmly believed—remained of him, when his life had vanished as a

blown-out flame, as the brightness of rusted steel, the world would be a little nearer to happiness because in the past he had struggled, because he had lived.

But how few there are who, by such a hope, could be inspired to a life as heroic as was his. Only the world's great ones can live nobly, upheld by such a thought. The average man remains cold before the appeal for posterity's welfare. He says in act what a witty Frenchman said in word: "What has posterity done for me, that I should work for posterity?" If he repudiates his obligation to pay to the future the debt contracted by his receipts of benefits from the past, what moral law can utter an imperative that he will recognise as cogent, a command that he will feel compelled to obey? The weakness of the utilitarian basis lies in the fact that your imperative fails, save where you appeal to the noble-minded, to those who need it least. These respond to it, but others shrug their shoulders, and care not for the welfare of the race. The present pain to be incurred by themselves is not, for them, balanced by a future welfare in which they will not partake, and the slight ill-doing of the present, bringing to them a personal gain, is not checked by the idea that it injects a moral poison into the shadowy bodies of generations yet unborn.

If Intuition fails as a basis for morality, if Utility, devoid of immortality, also fails us, we are forced to our third basis—Religion.

In most countries of the world, religion has been made the basis of morality, for the founders of religion were occultists, who understood the nature of men, who intended religion to guide their evolution, and who, knowing that the motives which appealed to men at one

stage, failed to appeal to them at another, graded their teachings to suit the grade in evolution of their hearers. In each great religion, the sayings of its founder, his precepts, his commands, have been accepted as the moral law of his people. The Jew obeys the laws of Moses ; the Christian bows to the sayings of Jesus, although—owing to the fact that His esoteric teachings became exoteric—he ignores those which he regards as impracticable in the life of the world ; the Hindu looks back to Manu as his law-giver ; the Buddhist accepts the precepts of the Enlightened One, the Buddha ; the Mussalman sees in the teachings of his Prophet the rule of his conduct. In each of these religions the moral law comes from an authority divinely commissioned, or itself regarded as divine, the law which the believer must obey. The world has grown up along these lines. The morality of the nations of the world has been fed from the breasts of their religions. Religions have yielded the categorical imperative necessary for the moral education of mankind. These have used praises and threats, rewards and punishments, suited to the age and intelligence of their adherents. Ignorance may have distorted the sure sequences of moral law into a rewarding and avenging deity ; ignorance may have prolonged a term into an everlastingness, and have distorted the self-made scourges of passions into the fire and brimstone and fiends of hells. The sure truths of nature and of natural sequences may have been twisted by ignorant and self-seeking priesthoods for the terrorising of the simple and the timid. But none the less, have the religions of the world trained their believers into a practical and useful morality, by which nations have been builded, civilisation has been rendered possible and a

social order has been secured. It has been said in mockery, but the saying embodies a truth, that religions have been the police of society. And, however much modern sentimentality may shrink from it, fear is one of the motives which curb the strong and the oppressive, and spread a shield over the otherwise defenceless victims of their greed.

But now, for the first time, the very basis of religion has been undermined ; its authority has been challenged, its ancient world-scriptures rent in pieces. More and more insistently the sceptical intellect of man is asking : " Why should I obey ? Where is the justification for your claim to authority ? " The critical reason is demanding a sure basis for a compelling power, a categorical imperative which can be enforced by logic and by an appeal to undeniable facts. Such a basis is to be found only in that supreme fact of nature which is asserted alike by revelation, by philosophy and by science—before the unity of the Self, the one life universal clothed in an illimitable diversity of forms. Dr. Miller has truly said that the great gifts of Hinduism to the world are the teachings of the Immanence of God and the solidarity of mankind. But every religion has taught these great truths more or less clearly, has proclaimed them in language more or less definite, according to the intelligence of the people to whom they were addressed. Hinduism has taught them with supreme lucidity, because its religion and its philosophy were shaped by occultists addressing the subtlest and keenest brains that humanity has yet evolved.

. The unity of the Self—that, and that only, is the sure foundation for morality, the rock which can

never be shaken, the basis which no logic can impugn, which experience continually re-verifies. The Unity of Life—revelation proclaims it, philosophy demands it, science affirms it. The ancient truth, the Truth of truths, intuited by the Pure Reason, is being ever more insistently asserted and demonstrated by science. Experiment confirms what intuition and reason demand, and no surer guarantee of truth is attainable by humanity. On this irrefragable, impregnable Truth, may morality be built surely and fearlessly ! It is the Rock of Ages, eternal, stable, secure.

Many names are given by the different religions to this sure fact. Some say, God, the universal Father, and mankind, His children ; some say, the one Self dwelling in the heart of all ; some say, the Life Universal, the all in all, the source of being and of beings. Names matter nothing ; they are all but labels for one fact, the Unity.

We are all one in the unity of the universal life, we are all one in the unity of the Self, who knows no 'other.' But if you and I are one, one Life, one Self, though in two forms, then if I injure you, I injure myself ; if I lie to you, I am lying to myself, and the lie will deceive me and I shall fall ; if I cheat you, I am cheating myself, and that cheating will defraud me, and I shall suffer. I cannot get away from you. I cannot separate myself from you. We appear as two, but one life unites us, and the blow that I aim at you inflicts pain on myself. This is the truth which, denied, asserts itself as pain ; which, accepted and lived by, reveals itself as bliss. This is the law which destroys civilisations which ignore it, which crushes into fragments, into dust, every society which refuses to obey it. It has destroyed scores of

civilisations, and only a civilisation built upon it shall endure.

So is every community, every nation, one body, a smaller within the larger Self. It is in verity, not only in name, a body politic, and there is a real unity in a nation's life. If men pour into that national life, cowardice, and lies, and cheating, and knavery, the whole nation is poisoned, the vitality of the nation is lowered, and good men and evil men alike suffer from the common ill. A nation is so truly constituted as one body, that its evil-doers poison the lifeblood of that body, and all the citizens suffer, for all share the national life. The whole morality of the nation is lowered by the presence in it of a number of dishonest men, whether their dishonesty be legally punishable or not. They spread through the nation like a subtle poison, for we cannot be separated the one from the other, since we are all clothed in one matter, and are all living by one life.

Nor can injustice be done to one part of the nation, without the rest of the nation suffering. All nations have a degraded class of people belonging to them, in whose persons the Unity of the Self is outraged. In England this class is called 'the submerged tenth,' and it is a continual disgrace and peril to the nation, a constant menace to the stability of the State. Here also is a similar class of people, though not degraded to the same point of brutality as in England—the class called the Panchamas, or Pariahs, or outcastes. Some five and a half millions of these people are living on Indian soil, the remnants of the conquered aborigines of the country, submerged by the waves of the Aryan conquerors. For many generations you have sought to push these people away, to keep them separate, and have thought: "I can

get rid of these inferior people, I can keep them out of those among whom I move : I will not allow them to come into my house; they shall go off the road on which I am walking." True, you can turn your backs on the outcaste people, and deny in them practically the presence of the all-pervading Self, the presence which you pride yourself on acknowledging in words. But what happens ? The enemies of your faith take pity on them. Christian missionaries go to them, and turn them into Christians. Muhammadans go to them, and say : " Come into Islam ; we shall treat you as brothers, and not as outcastes." The Christian missionary allures them, the Mussalman allures them with promises of better social condition, and thus a vast population is turning against Hinduism, and threatens the stability of Hindu society. The very Hindus who refuse to allow them to enter their homes, allow them to enter when they are Christians or Muhammadans, thus aiding to bribe them to turn against the religion to which they had naturally gravitated. Has this denial of the Unity of the Self profited the Aryan conquerors, or has not the karma of conquest and oppression worked itself out, has not Nemesis trodden on the heels of wrong ? The Aryans who conquered the elder races, now, in their turn, are conquered by their youngers. and they are forced to drink of the bitter cup which they have held to other lips. The liberty they have denied to others is denied to them ; the hospitality they refused to others is refused to them ; the oppression wherewith they have oppressed others falls upon them, but in far smaller measure than they meted out to the races they conquered.

My brothers, see in this hard lesson the working

of the Unity of the Self, bringing oppression to the oppressor, loss of liberty to those who have denied it to others. You complain, and justly, of the harsh and rude manners often shown to you by your English rulers, but are they one-hundredth part as insolent to you, as you are insolent to this race whom you, in the past, brought under your yoke? If you would have courtesy from the conquerors, yield you courtesy to these, your conquered; if you would win liberty, give liberty to these, the down-trodden of many countries; lift up these whom, in your pride, you have trodden under foot, and karma, ever just will lift you up, and will return to you, in fullest measure, the blessings you have showered upon those whom you had wronged. It is not to the point that you are, intellectually and morally, the equals of your conquerors, while these people were an inferior, as well as a conquered race. Oppression is oppression, on whomsoever it is wrought; insolence is insolence, whether shown to high or low; the very fact that these were your inferiors, helpless in your hands, rendered them the more worthy of your compassion, of your pity; it is the tears of the weak that rot the foundations of empires.

Thus do we see that religion is the only sure foundation for morality, as the fundamental truth of Religion, the Unity of the Self, is that on which alone a science of ethics can be built. How, then, shall we venture to rob our boys and girls of this essential element in true education, casting them adrift on the ocean of life, without a chart to guide them, without a helm to steer?

Religion is the Inspiration of Art.—Many people do not consider, do not understand, how important is

the part played by Art in the life of a nation, and how impossible it is for a nation to reach a full-orbed greatness unless Art plays its part in the shaping of the nation's growth. The Art of a nation is the expression of that nation's conception of the Beautiful, of its love of harmony, proportion and order. The Beautiful is that which refines and polishes a nation, gives it dignity and grace and self-restraint. Inevitably vulgar becomes the nation which has no true Art, in which passion begets no poesy, and love delights not in grace of outline, in splendour of colour. There, passion changes to brutality, and love puts on the hideous mask of lust. Study nature, alike in the masses with which she constructs a world, and in the details with which she crowds the smallest nook in her vast realms, and you will understand that one of the pillars on which the Great Architect of the Universe constructs His Universe is beauty.

India, the country whose life has everywhere been permeated by religion, has wrought beauty into the daily life of her people, and hence the refinement which is the common possession of her children. Look at the vessels in daily use in an Indian home, in which Western influence has not vulgarised the ways of living, and you will find them all beautiful in form and colour; the kitchen utensils, the brass and pottery, would serve as ornaments of an English drawing-room; the woman's dresses, the hangings, the carpets, are all lovely from an artistic standpoint; beauty meets you at every turn in the domestic life, a constant delight to the eye, a refining influence on every member of the household. Go into a country village, and you see the peasant woman draped in a sari exquisite in colour, falling in

graceful folds round the erect and supple form; she bears on her head a brazen vessel of noble outline, or an earthen one of brownish-red, harmonising with the trees she passes, a veritable picture, though but a village lass or dame. That beauty of the life surroundings softens and mellows the life, and lends it a charm of dignity and grace which refines and educates.

But even into the village life the vulgarising influence is spreading, and sometimes the peasant woman going to the well, still wearing the graceful sari, still carrying her head with queenly dignity, bears on that head neither the brilliant brass, throwing back the glory of the sun-ray, nor the glowing red of the village potter's handiwork, but the stiffly outlined, unlovely kerosine oil tin. You may think it does not matter, but that is not so. It matters, because the subtly vulgarising and coarsening influence of the replacing of beauty by ugliness in common life drags the whole nation to a lower level. The peasants catch their colour from their environments, and the slouching, clumsy, round-shouldered walk of the English ploughman, in such striking contrast to the springy, alert, erect gait of the Indian peasant, corresponds to the ugly clumsy vessels of his cottage and his village ale-house. The English peasant of two centuries ago had also his things of beauty, his carved wooden vessels, and his well-carved bench, as the Norwegian peasant has still. It is the advent of the age of machines that has cursed the country-side, and deteriorated the manhood of the English peasantry. Hence, in England, the most thoughtful people are trying to bring beauty back to the country life, to restore handicrafts, and to revive the arts which make common life beautiful. What William Morris and his followers have done for the middle

classes, others are seeking to do for the poorer people, so that England may regain the beauty of the common life, the refinement and the grace lost in the coming of machinery and the passionate struggle for wealth. The early Victorian age in England is now a synonym for ugliness, and her manufacturers try to palm off upon Indian princes the atrocities for which there is no longer sale among their English customers, thus degrading and vulgarising the once exquisite Indian taste.

There is nothing in nature untouched by man that has not its own beauty and its own grace. The forest depths and the mountain solitudes, the tossing waves of ocean and the shimmering ripples of the lake, the little out-of-the-way valley, cradled in the bosom of the hills and carpeted with flowers, the snow-clad peak, the brilliant blue and the summer noon, the dark star-spangled depths of midnight, the white radiance of the moon, the dancing shadows cast by the sunbeams—what are these but signs of the eternal beauty, the sign-manual of God? Nature, which is His expression in matter, in her contact with the ugly and the formless, is ever moulding into new forms of beauty the chaotic matter which is the plastic material for her artist-fingers. Beauty is a real power, and each religion, in its day of supremacy, has generated some great Art. The faith of Islam, conquering Northern India, gave to its new home the exquisite lines of the Taj Mahal, the beauty of the Pearl Mosque, the marvellous courts of the Delhi Palace; in Spain, the victorious Moors reared the splendour of the domed and minaretted Alhambra, and left the deathless memory of their art in Cordova, and in many an Andalusian city. In Greece, the massive but delicate lines of her

architectural genius modelled buildings which modern Art reproduces, but fails to improve, and she sculptured marble with a skill and power that have made immortal the names of her artist sons. In Rome, her Art built with the strength of a Titan, and her temples, her pillars, her theatres, proclaim the majesty of her vanished past. In Egypt, her sombre religion bodied itself forth in grandiose and gloomy fanes, mighty in their power, impressive beyond all other architectural types. Christianity, in mediæval Europe, gave birth to the marvel of Gothic architecture, wherein the springing lines of pillar and arch seem to carry the soul upwards, as though it would climb the very heavens from the slender strength of the upward-soaring shaft. And who that has seen it can forget the glory of the Florence Duomo, where the green and rosy marbles have imprisoned the hues of the sunbeams, and, tier on tier, carven figures carry the charmed sight upward, till the crowning images are outlined against the blue of the Italian sky. Did not Christianity give to the world the canvases on which the brush of Raphael limned the immortal beauty of the Virgin and the Child, the marbles which the chisel of Michael Angelo carved into the Lawgiver and the Laocoon? Everywhere has religion given birth to Art, the cult of the Beautiful, and faith has been the inspiration that gave life to the brush and the chisel. If our modern days have no great Art, it is because they have no might of faith. They copy, but they cannot create. And not until the great spiritual impulse now sweeping over the earth, that we call the Divine Wisdom, Theosophy, gives birth to a new ideal and conception of beauty, will the Art of the future be seen among us, the Art which shall

be the expression of Beauty for our age. If you would preserve what is left of Indian Art, if you would create the Indian Art of the future, you must revive the religious spirit which is the mother of Art, you must welcome the latest—and the most ancient—expression of that spirit, Theosophy, the Supreme Science. Then, and then only will Indian ideals of Beauty draw again the hearts of mankind, and give through the most spiritual of religions, the highest expression of Art.

Religion is the foundation of great Literature.—Where religion is not an essential part of the education given to the youth of a nation, there the nation has no literature worthy to be called great. By 'great' literature, I mean literature that is original, literature produced by the creative, as distinguished from the imitative, intelligence. Trace back your own literature, and you will see that its most splendid age was that which was profoundly religious. Hinduism inspired the Vedas with their Upanishads, wrote the ancient Puranas, lived, and then immortalised in deathless verse, the epics of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*; from its fertile womb sprang the six great schools of philosophy, the science of Yoga, the ancient treatises on medicine, on grammar, and astronomy. These writings, which are the admiration and the study of the foremost nations of the present day, for the depth and sublimity of their thought and the stateliness and beauty of their diction, were all flowers on the mighty tree of Indian religion. Later, as religion weakened, India had great commentators, great grammarians of the second order, great philologists; but these cannot raise a nation to the pinnacle of literary fame. Creative literature, not commentative and imitative literature—India is barren of

that to-day. And she will never again become creative in her literature, any more than she will become exquisitely beautiful in her Art, until religion is incorporated in her education and her children grow to manhood within the inspiration of her faith. Nor is this fact confined to India. The great literature of Islam, philosophical and scientific, in Europe, grew out of Muhammadanism in the few centuries which succeeded the death of the mighty Arabian Prophet. The masterpieces of Christian literature were written in an atmosphere of religion ; the Renaissance was the child of the Moorish teachers ; the Elizabethan age followed the religious struggles of the Reformation. Everywhere history testifies to the close relationship between religion and literary genius.

And this is natural. For the nobler part of the human intellect is an aspect of the Spirit in man, and the lower mind contacts the spirit only as it is fed and nourished by religion. As that contact opens the avenues to the spirit, the spirit shines down these avenues and illumines the mind. When the mind is illumined by the spirit, and the brain is able to respond to the swift and subtle vibrations of that mental world, then we have the radiant and splendid manifestation that man calls genius.

Thus great and imperative, then, is the necessity for religion as an integral part of education. Do not tell me that religious training may be given in the home, in voluntary classes, on special occasions. If you leave it out of education, you shut it out of life. The boys will learn the things which are in the educational curriculum, and will treat outside subjects of study with the same indifference that you show by placing them in an

inferior rank—will treat them with indifference, if not with contempt. Nor will they turn in later life to the study ostracised in the school and the college. Then the world will have hardened them, then social ambition will have fettered them; the brains will be less plastic, the hearts less warm, than in the eager and passionate days of youth. Life's ideals must be wrought in the soft clay of youth, and they will harden into firm material with maturity. Train your boys and girls in religion, and then only will they become the men and the women that India needs.

See how the great men of your past were religious men. To take even modern times, see how Baber and Akbar were penetrated with the religious spirit. And, later yet, see Shivaji, bowing at the feet of his Guru, ere he drew the sword to free his native land.

Those of you who would have India great, those of you who would see her might, remember that the condition of national greatness is the teaching of religion to the young. Teach them to be religious, without being sectarian. Teach them to be devoted, without being fanatical. Teach them to love their own faith, without decrying or hating the faiths of their fellow-citizens. Make religion a unifying force, not a separative; make religion a builder-up of nationality, not a disintegrator; make religion the fostering mother of civic virtues, the nurse and teacher of morality. Then shall the boys and girls grow up into the great citizens of the India that shall be; then shall they live in an India, mighty, prosperous and free; then shall they look back with gratitude to those who, in the days of darkness, lifted up the light, and gave the religious teaching which alone makes good citizens and great men.

THE EDUCATION OF HINDU YOUTH.*

NO more important question can occupy the attention of a nation than that of the education of the youth of both sexes, for, as the immediate future lies in the hands of those who are now children, the direction of the national development depends on the training given to these embryo men and women. If they be brought up materialistically without any care being bestowed on their spiritual or moral culture, the nation as a whole must become materialistic, for the nation of the morrow is in the schools and homes of to-day.

What is the education necessary to give us spiritual, intellectual, moral, wisely progressive Hindu men and women, to form teachers, statesmen, merchants, producers, fathers, mothers, worthy to take part in the formation of a great Indian Nation? Such is the question we must answer. Let us take separately the school education of boys and girls, remembering, however, that their joint education in the home, from the cradle onwards, should come from the example and the lips of fathers and mothers who are themselves full of spirituality, thus forming a spiritual atmosphere which shall permeate the dawning mind. No after-training can compensate for the lack of religion in the home, the saturation of children's minds and hearts with pure religion and with the exquisite stories with which Indian literature abounds—tales of heroism, devotion, self-sacrifice,

* An Article from the *Theosophist*.

compassion, love, reverence. A man should not be able to remember a time when he was not familiar with the melodious names of Indian Saints and Heroes, both men and women. But we are concerned with the education given in the schools, and first with that of the boys.

Boys of the upper classes must, under the circumstances of the day, receive an English education. Without this they cannot gain a livelihood and it is idle to kick against facts we cannot change. We can take the English education then for granted. But a reform in the books they study is necessary and an effort should be made to substitute a detailed knowledge of Indian history and geography for the excessive amount of foreign history and geography now learned. A sound and broad knowledge of universal history widens the mind and is necessary for culture, but every man should know in fuller detail the history of his own nation, as such knowledge not only conduces to patriotism, but also enables a sound judgment to be formed as to the suitability of proposed changes to the national genius. Again, no book should be admitted to the school curriculum that treats the Hindu religion and Gods with the contempt born of ignorance. Hindu fathers have permitted their sons to be taught English from a book which states that "Shri Krishna was a profligate and a libertine." Such a sentence is an outrage, and poisons the minds of the boys reading it. The books used should be classical English works, read as literature, or elementary books of a purely secular character, or, still better, prepared by Hindus thoroughly conversant with English and imbued with reverence for religion. Stories from the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, well

translated, should form reading books both in English and in the vernaculars. In teaching science vigilance must be exerted to shut out many of the ways in which some branches of science are taught in Europe, no experiments on living animals should be permitted; they brutalize the heart and generally mislead the intellect. Reverence for life, compassion and tenderness to all sentient beings, should be inculcated in the school, by precept and example.

Moral education should form part of the curriculum. Daily, in every class, a brief portion of some sacred book should be read and explained, and its moral lessons enforced by illustrations; their bearing on individual, family, social and national life, should be shown, and the evil results of their opposed virtues should be expounded. Occasion should be taken with the elder youths to explain the scientific basis—the basis in nature—on which moral precepts are founded and to point out the wisdom of Hindu religious practices. They will thus acquire an intelligent appreciation of the value of religion and morality.

Sanskrit should be a compulsory subject in every school, as Latin is in European schools. It is the mother of many Indian vernaculars and of Pali; all the greatest treasures of Indian literature are enshrined in it, and a knowledge of it should be a necessary part of the education of every Indian gentleman. Such a knowledge would also serve as a national bond, for a common language is one of the strongest elements in nationality.

It is grotesque that English should be made the common language of the educated Indians instead of their own rich, flexible, and musical Sanskrit. But it must

be taught in the modern way, that a competent knowledge of it, sufficient for reading and conversation, may be acquired in the short time available for learning it. The fashion in which it was taught in more leisurely ages is not suitable to the needs of the time, and even if it be still used for the training of specialists, it can never be adopted as part of the curriculum in modern education. To insist on teaching it only in the old way is to doom Sanskrit to extinction as a living language universally known by educated Indians.

It is, further, exceedingly important that English should be introduced into Sanskrit Schools in which Pandits are trained. For the growing gulf between English educated Indians, who know no Sanskrit, and the Pandits who know no English, is a danger alike to religious and national life. These two classes understand each other and sympathise with each other less and less, and the legitimate influence which religious men should wield over worldly men is an ever-diminishing factor in the national life of India. These classes must be drawn nearer together, and this object will largely be gained by all educated men knowing Sanskrit, and all Pandits, the Sanskrit specialists, knowing English and being a little more in touch with Western thought. A course of Western philosophy should form part of a Pandit's education and it would make him all the better able to appreciate and defend the unrivalled philosophic systems in his own literature. Indian thought has influenced the thought of the world and the effects of this influence should be known and appreciated by those who are its natural custodians. Men, to influence the world, must be in touch with it, and the Pandits are, with each generation, becoming less and

less in touch with it, and more and more isolated from their educated countrymen.

The difficulty of making Sanskrit part of the necessary education of every gentleman is much overrated. Every Muhammadan gentleman knows Arabic, and can read the Koran. Why should the Hindu be more backward in reading the Vedas? To be ignorant of the language in which all his religious ceremonies are performed is to be doomed to irreligion or to unintelligent religion, and such ignorance should be regarded as disgraceful to a man claiming to be educated. The spread of Sanskrit knowledge would increase the printing and publishing of Sanskrit works and open up a honourable occupation as Sanskrit Teachers to large numbers of Pandits—if they would consent to teach in a modern way—and thus many collateral benefits would accrue to India by this addition to the regular school curriculum.

Hindu boarding-houses should be established wherever there are school and college students who come from a distance, and these should be conducted on religious lines; the boys being taught there to observe their religious duties as if living in the atmosphere of a religious Indian home. Here again Muhammadans are ahead of us in their care for the religious training of the young, for such Muhammadan boarding-houses are found near colleges attended by Muhammadan students, whereas Hindu boys are ruthlessly exposed to purely secular or even proselytising influences at the very time when they are most impressible. Are there no wealthy Hindus who care enough for their faith and their country to help in the care and protection of the young?

Let us turn to the education of girls, the future wives and mothers of Hindus, those on whom the welfare of the family, and therefore largely the welfare of the nation, depends. Until the last two or three generations the education of Hindu girls was by no means neglected. They were trained in religious knowledge and were familiar with the great Indian Epics and with much of the Puranas, to say nothing of the Vernacular religious literature. They would learn by heart thousands of lines of these, and would also have stored in their memory many *ślotras*. Hence their children were cradled in an atmosphere full of devotion, fed on sacred songs and stories. Further, they were thoroughly trained in household economy, in the management of the house, and the knowledge of the duties of dependents and servants. They were skilled in medicine and were the family doctors, and many were highly skilled in artistic, needlework and music. Their education was directed to fit them to discharge their functions in life, to render them competent to fulfil the weighty duties belonging to them in Indian family life. This "old-fashioned education" has now almost entirely disappeared, and the present generation is for the most part singularly incompetent and helpless, too often trivial and childish, unable to train sons and daughters in the noble simplicity and dignity of true Hindu life.

To remedy this admitted deterioration, attempts are being made to introduce female education, but unhappily, the kind of education mostly essayed, being founded on the needs of Western life, is mischievous rather than beneficial to Indian womanhood. To introduce a system suited to one country into another where the social conditions are entirely different is to act blindly and

foolishly, without any consideration of the objects education is intended to subserve. Education should fit the person educated for the function he or she is to discharge in later life ; if it fail to do this, it may be book-learning but it is not education.

Now the higher education of women in England and America is mainly directed to fitting woman to compete with men as bread-winners in the various professions and Government employment. Very large numbers of women of gentle birth are compelled by the present condition of English and American society to go out into the world to earn their own living. Owing to many causes, among them the tendency of young Englishmen to go abroad as colonists and settlers ; the prevalence of widow marriage, so that one woman may have two or three husbands in succession ; the greater mortality among males, there is a large surplus of unmarried women. When a man marries, he leaves the family home, and makes a new home for his wife and himself ; hence when the parents die, the unmarried daughters are then thrown homeless on the world and have to go out to earn a living. Under these circumstances, having to compete with highly educated men, they require an education similar in kind to that hitherto restricted to men ; otherwise they would compete at a hopeless disadvantage and would receive very poor salaries. Women are now educated at High Schools and Colleges on the same lines as men, and compete with them at examinations, as they do later in working life. They become doctors, professors, clerks, and in America they also practise at the Bar and are ordained as ministers of religion. Needless to say that in India there is no prospect of such a complete revolution in social life as would

break up the family system, drive the women out into the world to earn bread and make them competitors with men in every walk of life. The province of women in India is still the home ; such a thing as an unmarried girl is scarcely known, and the joint family system offers a secure shelter to every girl and woman of the family. Their life is a family life ; of what avail then to waste the years during which they should be educated to play their part well in the family, in giving them an education suited for Western social life but entirely unsuited to their own ? The school life of the girl in India must necessarily be brief and it is therefore the more important that she should spend that brief time to the best possible advantage. Of what possible value can it be to her to know all about the Wars of the Roses and the dates of the great English battles ? How much is she the better for learning Latin ? Of what value to her is it to pass the Matriculation Examination ? Why should ordinary Indian girls have a detailed knowledge of English geography, while ordinary English girls are never taught details of Indian geography—for the sufficient reason that it would not be of any use to them ? The Indian girl should learn to read and write her Vernacular, and the books used should for the most part be translations from the most attractive Sanskrit books, the great epics and dramas of her country. The course of reading mapped out should give her an elementary acquaintance with Indian literature, history and geography, serving as a basis for future study. It might also, in the higher classes, include the broad outlines of universal history and geography and of the greatest literary masterpieces of foreign nations. She should be given a sound knowledge

of arithmetic so continually needed by the manager of the household. She should be taught thoroughly the "science of common life," the value of food-stuffs, the necessary constituents of a healthy diet, the laws of health of the body and for the house ; she should be thoroughly instructed in medicinal botany, the preparation and use of herbs, the treatment of all simple forms of disease, of simple surgical cases, and of accidents of various kinds. In the higher classes Sanskrit should be taught so that the vast stores of the noble literature of India should be opened to her daughters. A knowledge of music, including playing on the *vina* and singing, is most desirable, as well as a thorough acquaintance with such needlework as is wanted in the home ; the teaching of artistic needlework is also useful, forming a pleasant recreation. At present, in some schools, the hideous "samplers," long since discarded in English school teaching, with their crude colours and impossible animals, are being produced. The exquisite Indian embroidery should, of course, take the place of these with its delicately shaded gradations of colour and its graceful forms. These train the eye and the taste which are demoralised by the other kind of work. But above all else must the Indian girl be trained in the devotion and piety to which her nature so readily responds. Not only should she read, but she should learn by heart, stories and poems from the best Indian literature, *ślotras* and sacred verses. No girl should leave school without becoming familiar with the *Bhagavad Gita*, and knowing much, if not all of it by heart. All the great heroines of Indian story should be made familiar to her, with their inspiring example and elevating influence. The Indian ideal of womanhood should

be made living to her in these heroic figures, and she should be taught to regard them as her exemplars in her own life. With heart thus trained and memory thus stored, she will be fit to be the "Lakshmi of the house" and the hearts of husband and children will safely trust in her. Girls thus educated will make the Indian home what it ought to be—the centre of spirituality, the strength of the national religious life. Among them we may hope to see revived the glories of the past, the tenderness and fidelity of Sita and Savitri, the intellectual grandeur of Gargi, the all-sacrificing spirituality of Maitreyi.

If the Indian youth could be educated on these or similar lines, India's future among the nations would be secured, a future not unworthy of her past—spiritually, morally, intellectually and materially great.

THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN GIRLS.*

ONE of the first things done by Countess Wachtmeister and myself, when we came to India in 1893, was to concern ourselves with the question of the education of girls. But many thoughtful Indians begged us to wait until we had secured the confidence of the Hindu community, so that no suspicion could arise with regard to our objects. The unhappy perversion of an Indian lady had shaken the confidence of the Hindu public with respect to girls' education, and they feared Christian proselytising under the garb of interest in education. The advice seemed sound and we accepted it.

Ten years have passed since then, and we may truly say that the confidence of the Hindu public in the purity of our aims and the straightforwardness of our actions has been won. The appeals to me to take up the education of girls have been many and urgent, and unqualified approval of the scheme I have submitted in writing and speech has been expressed. It seems time, therefore, to give this scheme a wider publicity, and, if it be acceptable, as it seems to be, to a large number of Hindus, then to let it serve as the basis of a national movement for the education of girls. It is already being followed in a few small girls' schools, carried on by Lodges of the Theosophical Society, and may henceforth take fuller shape.

* A pamphlet published in 1904.

The national movement for girls' education must be on national lines ; it must accept the general Hindu conceptions of woman's place in the national life, not the dwarfed modern view but the ancient ideal. It must see in the woman the mother and the wife, or, as in some cases, the learned and pious ascetic, the Brah-mavadini of older days. It cannot see in her the rival and competitor of man in all forms of outside and public employment, as woman, under different economic conditions, is coming to be, more and more, in the West. The West must work out in its own way the artificial problem which has been created there as to the relation of the sexes. The East has not to face that problem, and the lines of western female education are not suitable for the education of eastern girls. There may be exceptional cases, and when parents wish their daughters to follow the same course of education as their sons, they can readily secure for them that which they desire. But the *national* movement for the education of girls must be one which meets the national needs, and India needs nobly trained wives and mothers, wise and tender rulers of the household, educated teachers of the young, helpful counsellors of their husbands, skilled nurses of the sick, rather than girl-graduates, educated for the learned professions.

Let us, then, put down in order the essentials of the education which is desirable for Indian girls.

I. *Religious and moral education*.—Every girl must be taught the fundamental doctrines for her religion, in a clear, simple and rational method. The Sanatana Dharma Series I and II, in the Vernaculars, will suit Hindu girls as well as Hindu boys, and girls thoroughly grounded in these will be able to study the Advanced.

Text-Book after leaving school, as they are not likely to remain there to an age fit for such study. The *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, in the Vernaculars, should be largely drawn on for moral instruction, as well as *Manusmriti* ; and Tulsi Das' *Ramayana* should be read by all Hindi-knowing girls. To this should be added the teaching of hymns in the Vernacular and stotras in Samskrit, as well as the committal to memory of many beautiful passages from the *Bhagavad Gita*, the *Hamsa Gita*, the *Anugita*, and other suitable works. They should be taught to worship, and simple plain explanations of the worship followed should be given, and, while the devotion so natural to an Indian woman should be nurtured, an intelligent understanding should be added to it, and a pure and enlightened faith, their natural heritage, should be encouraged in them. Where any girl shows capacity for deeper thought, philosophical studies and explanations should not be withheld from her, so that opportunity may be afforded for the re-appearance of the type of which Maitreyi and Gargi and the woman singers of the Vedas were shining examples. Girls belonging to the Islamic and Zoroastrian faiths should be similarly instructed, the books of their respective religions taking the place of the Hindu works named above. There is an abundant wealth of beautiful devotional verse in Persian, to culture and elevate the mind of the Muslim girl, to whom also should be opened the stores of Arabic learning. The Zoroastrian has also ample sacred treasures for the instruction of his girls, and can utilise selections from the Avesta, Pahlavi and Persian. I do not know if there is much available vernacular literature in these faiths in Southern India, but in

Northern India Urdu literature for the girls of Islam is not lacking.

II. *Literary Education*.—A sound literary knowledge of the Vernacular should be given, both in reading and writing. Vernacular literature, in Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Telugu and Tamil, is sufficiently rich in original works and translations to give full scope for study, and to offer a store of enjoyment for the leisure hours of later life. A colloquial knowledge of some vernacular other than her own would be useful to a girl, if time would allow of the learning. A classical language, Sanskrit or Arabic or Persian, according to the girl's religion, should be learned sufficiently to read with pleasure the noble literature contained therein, and the quick Indian girl will readily master sufficient of one of these tongues to prove a never-failing delight to her in her womanhood, and to listen with intelligent pleasure to the reading of her husband as he enjoys the masterpieces of the great writers. Indian history and Indian geography should be thoroughly taught, and reading-books should be provided consisting of stories of all the sweetest and strongest women in Indian story, so that the girls may feel inspired by these noblest types of womanhood as compelling ideals, and may have before them these glorious proofs of the heights to which Indian women have climbed. The very narrowness of their present lives, their triviality and frivolity, render the more necessary the presentation to them of a broad and splendid type as a model for their uplifting, and while their minds will be thus widened and their ideas enlarged, at the same time they will be led along lines purely national and in consonance with immemorial ideals. If the

westernising, in a bad sense, of Indian men be undesirable, still more undesirable is such westernising of Indian women ; the world cannot afford to lose the pure, lofty, tender and yet strong type of Indian womanhood. It is desirable, also, seeing how much English thought is dominating the minds of the men, and how many sympathetic Englishwomen seek to know their Indian sisters, that the girls should learn English, and have thus opened to them the world of thought outside India ; in later life they may make many a pleasant excursion into that world in the company of their husbands, and the larger horizons will interest without injuring.

III. *Scientific Education.*—Nothing is more necessary to the Indian wife and mother, ruler often of a household that is a little village, than a knowledge of sanitary laws, of the value of food-stuffs, of nursing the sick, of simple medicines, of "first aid" in accidents, of cookery of the more delicate kind, of household management, and the keeping of accounts. The hygiene of the household should be thoroughly taught, the value of fresh air, sunlight and scrupulous cleanliness ; these were, indeed, thoroughly understood and practised by the elder generation, and must still, if learned in the school-room, find their field of practice in the home ; but the latest generation seems to be in all this far behind its grandmothers. Essential again is a knowledge of the value of food-stuffs, and of their effects on the body in the building of muscular, nervous and fatty tissues, of their stimulative or nutrient qualities. Some knowledge of simple medicines is needed by every mother, that she may not be incessantly calling in a doctor ; she should also be able to deal with accidental

injuries, completely with slight ones, and sufficiently with serious ones to prevent loss of life while awaiting the surgeon's coming ; simple nursing every girl should learn, and the importance of accuracy in observing directions, keeping fixed hours for food and medicine, etc. Sufficient arithmetic should be learned for all household purposes, for quick and accurate calculation of quantities and prices, and the keeping of accounts. A knowledge of cookery has always been part of the education of the Indian housewife, and this should still have its place in education, or there will be little comfort in the house for husband and children. The Indian cook—like cooks in other countries—does his work all the better if the house-mother is able to supervise and correct.

IV. *Artistic Education.*—Instruction in some art should form part of education for a girl, so that leisure in later life may be pleasantly and adequately filled, instead of being wasted in gossip and frivolity. South India is leading the way in musical education, and the prejudice against it is disappearing. The singing of stotras, to an accompaniment on the *vina*, or other instrument, is a refining and delightful art in which the girls take the greatest pleasure, and one which enables them to add greatly to the charm of home. Drawing and painting are arts in which some find delight, and their deft fingers readily learn exquisite artistic embroidery and needlework of all kinds. Needless to say that all should learn sewing, darning and the cutting-out of such made garments as are used in their districts. In all of these, the natural taste of the pupil should be the guide to the selection of the art, though almost all, probably, will take part in singing.

V. *Physical Education*.—The training and strengthening of the bodies of the future mothers must not be left out of sight, and, to this end, physical exercises of a suitable kind should form part of the school curriculum. In Southern India, the girls are very fond of exercises in which they move to the sound of their own songs, performing often complicated exercises, in some of which patterns are woven and unwoven in coloured threads attached to a centre high overhead, the ends of the threads being held by the girls, whose evolutions make and unmake the pattern. Other exercises somewhat resemble the well-known "Swedish exercises," and all these are good, and there are games which give exercise of a pleasant and active kind. These conduce to the health of young bodies, and give grace of movement, removing all awkwardness. Nothing is prettier than to see a group of girls moving gracefully to the sound of their own young voices, in and out, in mazy evolutions, with clapping of soft palms or clash of light playing-sticks. The lack of physical exercise leads to many chronic ailments in womanhood and to premature old age.

Such is an outline of the education which would, it seems to me, prove adequate to the needs of the young daughters of India, and would train them up into useful and cultured women, heads of happy households, "lights of the home."

There will always be some exceptional girls, who need for the due evolution of their faculties a more profound and a wider education, and these must be helped to what they need as individuals, each on her own line. Such girls may be born into India in order to restore to her the learned women of the past, and to place again

in her diadem the long lost pearl of lofty female intelligence. It is not for any to thwart them in their upward climbing, or to place unnecessary obstacles in their path.

Of this we may be sure, that Indian greatness will not return until Indian womanhood obtains a larger, a freer, and a fuller life, for largely in the hands of Indian women must lie the redemption of India. The wife inspires or retards the husband ; the mother makes or mars the child. The power of woman to uplift or debase man is practically unlimited, and man and woman must walk forward hand-in-hand to the raising of India, else will she never be raised at all. The battle for the religious and moral education of boys is won, although the victory has still to be made effective all over India. The battle for the education of girls is just beginning, and may Ishvara bless those who are the vanguard, and all beneficent Powers enlighten their minds and make strong their hearts !

EDUCATION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.*

IN every nation we find, as the basis of the social pyramid, a large class of people, ignorant, degraded, unclean in language and habits, people who perform many tasks which are necessary for society, but who are despised and neglected by the very society, to whose needs they minister. In England this class is called the "submerged tenth," forming, as it does, one-tenth of the total population. It is ever on the verge of starvation, and the least extra pressure sends it over the edge. It suffers chronically from under-nutrition, and is a prey to the diseases which spring therefrom. It is prolific, like all creatures in whom the nervous system is of a low type, but its children die off rapidly, ill-nourished, rickety, often malformed. Its better type consists of unskilled labourers, who perform the roughest work, scavengers, sweepers, navvies, casual dock-labourers, costermongers ; and into it, forming its worse type, drift all the wastrels of society, the drunkards, the loafers, the coarsely dissolute, the tramps, the vagabonds, the clumsily criminal, the ruffians. The first type is, as a rule, honest and industrious ; the second ought to be under continued control, and forced to labour sufficiently to earn its bread. In India this class forms one-sixth of the total population, and goes by the generic name of the "depressed classes." It springs from the aboriginal

* An article in *The Adyar Bulletin*.

inhabitants of the country, conquered and enslaved by the Aryan invaders, but has a civilisation behind it, in this differing from its English congener. It is composed of people whose ancestors lived a fairly cultivated life, and has been recruited by the illegitimate offspring of the conquering Aryans, so it is now a hybrid race with many intermixed varieties. It is drunken and utterly indifferent to cleanliness, whether of food, person or dwelling; but marriage is accompanied with some slight formality, children are kindly treated, and there is very little brutality, violence of criminality. Criminal communities, such as hereditary thieves, live apart, and do not mingle with the scavengers, sweepers, husbandmen and the followers of other simple crafts who make up the huge bulk of the depressed. They are gentle, docile, as a rule industrious, pathetically submissive, merry enough when not in actual want, with a bright though generally very limited intelligence; of truth and the civic virtues they are for the most part utterly devoid—how should they be anything else?—but they are affectionate, grateful for the slightest kindness, and with much “natural religion.” In fact, they offer good material for simple and useful though humble civic life, very much better material than is found in the lowest strata of western lands. But they have been shamefully treated by their conquerors, who have shown to them the uttermost contempt and scorn. Even now, they scurry off the road if a Hindu of a superior class comes along; if the latter is forced to speak to one, he speaks from a distance; if he has to pay him for anything, he throws the money on the ground, and the other must pick it up; even if, against all his surroundings, a man of this class is sober, clean,

and decent-living, he remains "untouchable" and despised. Nothing that he can do makes him anything but a social pariah, a social outcaste ; his only social salvation lies in his becoming a Christian or a Muhammadan, but, for the most part, these people cling, with pathetic affection, to the Hinduism which flouts and outrages them.

What can be done for them by those who feel the barbarity of the treatment meted out to them, by those who feel that the Indians who demand freedom should show respect to others, and give to others a share of the consideration they claim for themselves ?

Here, as everywhere, education is the lever by which we may hope to raise them, but a difficulty arises at the outset, for one class of the community, moved by a noble feeling of compassion and benevolence, but not adding thereto a careful and detailed consideration of the conditions, demands for the children of the pariah community admission to the schools frequented by the sons of the higher classes, and charges with lack of brotherhood those who are not in favour of this policy. It becomes, therefore, necessary to ask whether brotherhood is to mean levelling down, and whether it is usual in a family to treat the elder children and the babies in exactly the same way. It is a zeal not according to knowledge—and not according to nature—which would substitute equality for brotherhood, and demand from the cultured and refined that they should forfeit the hardly won fruits of the education of generations, in order to create an artificial equality, as disastrous to the progress of the future as it would be useless for the improvement of the present. The children of the depressed classes need first of all, to be taught clean-

liness, outside decency of behaviour, and the earliest rudiments of education, religion and morality. Their bodies, at present, are ill-odorous and foul, with the liquor and strong smelling foods out of which for generations they have been built up; it will need some generations of purer food and living to make their bodies fit to sit in the close neighbourhood of a school-room with children who have received bodies from an ancestry trained in habits of exquisite personal cleanliness, and fed on pure food-stuffs. We have to raise the depressed classes to a similar level of physical purity, not to drag down the clean to the level of the dirty, and until this is done close association is undesirable. We are not blaming these children, nor their parents, for being what they are; we are stating a mere palpable fact. The first daily lesson in a school for these children should be a bath, and the putting on of a clean cloth, and the second should be a meal of clean wholesome food; those primary needs cannot be supplied in a school intended for children who take their daily bath in the early morning, and who come to school well-fed.

Another difficulty that faces teachers of these children is the contagious diseases that are bred from dirt; to take one example, eye-disease, wholly due to neglect, is one of the most common and "catching" complaints among them. In our Panchama schools in Madras the teachers are ever on the alert to detect and check this, and the children's eyes are daily washed and the disease is thus prevented. But is it to be expected that fathers and mothers, whose daily care protects their children from such dirty diseases should deliberately expose them at school to this infection?

Nor are the manners and habits of these forlorn little ones desirable things to be imitated by gently-nurtured children. Good manners, for instance, are the result of continual and rigid self-control, and of consideration for the comfort and convenience of others ; children learn manners chiefly by imitation from well-bred parents and teachers and secondarily by suitable precept and reproof. If, at the school, they are to be made to associate with children not thus trained, they will quickly fall into the ways which they see around them. For, until good habits are rendered fixed by long practice, it is far easier to be slipshod than accurate, to be careless than careful. Ought the children of families in which good manners and courtesy are hereditary, to be robbed of their heritage, a robbery that enriches no one, but drags the whole nation down ? Gentle speech, well-modulated voice, pleasant ways, these are the valuable results of long culture, and to let them be swamped out is no true brotherhood. Rather should we try to share them with our younger brothers by training them as we have ourselves been trained.

In England, it has never been regarded as desirable to educate boys or girls of all classes side by side, and such grotesque equalising of the unequal would be scouted. Eton and Harrow are admittedly the schools for the higher classes ; Rugby and Winchester are also schools for gentlemen's sons, though somewhat less aristocratic. Then come a number of schools, frequented chiefly by sons of the provincial middle class. Then the Board Schools, where the sons of artisans and the general manual labour classes are taught ; and below all these, for the waifs and strays, are the "ragged schools," the name of which indicates the type of their scholars,

and the numerous charitable institutions. A man in England who proposed that ragged school children should be admitted to Eton and Harrow would not be argued with, but laughed at. Here, when a similar proposition is made in the name of brotherhood, people seem ashamed to point out frankly its absurdity, and they do not realise that the proposal is merely a violent reaction against the cruel wrongs which have been inflicted on the depressed classes, the outcry of an awakened conscience, which has not yet had time to call right reason to guide its emotions. It is sometimes said that Government schools pay no attention to social differences ; therein they show that they are essentially " foreign " in their spirit. They would not deal so with the sons of their own people, though they may be careless of the sons of Indians, and lump them all together, clean and dirty alike. It is very easy to see the difference of " tone " in the youths when only the sons of the cultured classes are admitted to a school, and it is to the interest of the Indians that they should send their sons where they are guarded from coarse influences as Englishmen guard their own sons in England.

It is scarcely likely that I urge this on my Indian brethren from indifference to the suffering : for thirty-four years I have worked for those who suffer ; but, perhaps because I have so long been in close touch with them, I know that they are not at present fit to come into association with children of happier surroundings. As I used to say to my Socialist friends : " If you think that these people in the slums are your equals, why labour to change the evil conditions ? I think the conditions largely make them the ignorant and brutal

people they are, so I want to change them." I know now that the conditions do not make the people, but that it is the drunken and dirty people who *cause* the conditions, and that the wastrels before mentioned, born under good conditions, come into these because they are their natural home; none the less, the environment reacts on the organism though it does not create it, and prolongs the existence of the worse qualities and retards the growth of the good. We, who have outgrown these conditions, can help our youngsters to grow out of them more quickly than they can do if we leave them to their own unassisted efforts. And hence the duty and responsibility which lie upon us of improving both the surroundings and the characters of the depressed classes by every means in our power, shortening the period of their lives in this stage, and utilising our knowledge in their favour. By teaching their children the elements of right living, we draw out and cultivate the germinal powers of the soul, and by checking and repressing the faults which are manifest; by improving their food and their environment, we help to build better bodies suitable for the more unfolded souls. This is the help we both can give, and ought to give to these our successors on the stage of the world, and small will be our claim to the help of the greater Ones, if we refuse our help to these little ones of the human race. How shall we dare to plead to the Lords of Compassion to stoop to us and help us to rise, unless we, in our turn, stoop to those below us, and seek to raise them up?

THE PROTECTION OF ANIMALS.*

OVER the whole of Christendom to-day (Good Friday) men, women and children are bowing down in worship and in grateful reverence, recalling the death of the Founder of their Faith, remembering the sacrifice He made for man. And there is a Christian legend that as the Christ hung dying in agony on the Cross, He felt against His tortured right hand, pierced by the cruel nail which held it to the wood, the soft rustle of tiny fluttering wings ; He opened weary eyes and glanced, and there a little brown bird hovered, trying with feeble bill to draw out the firm-fixed nail ; His life-blood had stained the tender breast-feathers ; He smiled and blessed ; and, ever after, the crimson breast was the mark of all the robin-race, and they became the Robin Red-breasts, best-loved of English birds.

Another legend of the love of an animal to a divine Man in sorrow, this time Hindu : when Ramachandra cried aloud in anguish seeking His ravished wife, a little squirrel of the woods ran up upon His breast, to tell what he had seen of Ravana's flight ; and Rama stroked it tenderly with gentle hand, the tiny loving beast ; and all the squirrels since that day have worn the dainty stripes that the divine fingers made in those caressing strokes.

In all religions the love of the animal for the man, of the man for the animal, has found due place and fit con-

* Speech at the Calcutta Town Hall.

secration. Go back as far as you will, and you will find animals sanctified by divine contact on the steps by the divine throne. In Egypt Apis manifested as Bull, Pasht as Cat. The Hindu honours the Bull of Mahadeva, the Swan of Brahma, the lordly Eagle of Vishnu. Among the Parsis, Mithra had His Bull, and the Chaldæan Oannes had His Fish. Among the Christians a favourite symbol is the Lamb, and what more loving and tender name is ascribed to Christ than that of "the Good Shepherd"? Everywhere we find the same idea; and why? In order that by the holiest sanction religion could give, the animal might be encircled with the halo of divinity, and a tie wrought between the Deity and the brute. Man is a thoughtless and a hasty being, apt to tyrannise over the weak who serve him, apt to forget all he owes to the strong and silent helpfulness of the animals he owns; to recall that debt, wise men have lifted the animal into the radiance of the Divine, that the sacredness given to a few might spread out over the animal world. Therefore is this worship so widespread, and the love of the animal interwoven with the holiest feelings of humanity, so that men and women of every creed might admit the righteousness of the holy mission, when any came to plead for the protection of the animal, came to voice the needs of the inarticulate, the suffering that could only moan, not complain. If there be one thing more than another that stirs the heart of every right-feeling man and woman, it is the suffering of the helpless who cannot plead for themselves, the suffering of the child in humanity, of the animal in the lower world. These are indeed fit objects of compassion, and those who ignore the claims of the helpless need not hope to receive either justice or mercy for themselves.

Speaking as I do here to-day on behalf of the Imperial League for the Protection of Animals, which Mrs. Charlton is here to found with the help of friends in India, both English and Indian, I want to put to you two lines of thought along which I would fain lead you. The first is the question : What can we do ? The second : Why should we do it ? I put the practical one first, for a definite reason. What can we do ? If I make only an appeal to your sympathy, then, though your feelings may be stirred for the moment, there is a danger lest they should evaporate without action, for lack of any definite objects at which you can aim. There are many who are ready to help animals, ready to protect their interests, to alleviate their sufferings, but who do not know how to expend their energies ; and these would work if they knew what to do.

Mrs. Charlton was right in saying that through the country districts in India there is very little need of any protection of animals. Indians are naturally gentle and kindly, and treat animals well. Go through village after village, and notice the relations between men and animals, and you will find them satisfactory. The men and the animals are friends, although masters and servants. The cattle, goats, sheep, donkeys, need no driving from place to place ; they follow their owners to the fields or back to the home. You see a peasant returning from labour with his bullocks behind him ; look at the eyes of the animals, and you will find them untroubled and friendly. This harmonious relation of man and beast grows out of religious feeling ; the Hindu believes in one Life, one Consciousness, in vegetable, animal and man, so that the animal shares the Life that lives in the man. The Hindu is taught to see God living in the

animals round him, and this universal belief has had its humanising effect on the relations between men and animals. Apart from this, there is the special reverence paid to cattle, on whom agricultural prosperity depends : the bull that ploughs the field, the cow that yields the milk which feeds the family—these are the parents of the village. The cow is regarded as the mother, and is fed and tended as a religious duty ; she is washed, brushed, decorated with flowers—is literally worshipped.

It is not in the country, then, that protection is wanted for the animals ; but when we come to the great cities—alas ! everything is changed. Here, indeed, is protection of animals imperatively demanded, for in the cities men become brutalised and animals are tormented. I am not thinking so much of under-feeding, though that is common, for the ribs of the driver are often as visible as the ribs of the driven, but of many cruelties which are habitually practised, and which ought to be stopped by the strong hand of the law.

One of the first of these is the terrible overloading of bullock-carts. In every street in Calcutta we meet with overloaded carts, laden with bricks, stones, bales of various kinds ; in the crowded streets carts are continually being stopped, and every stoppage means the difficult re-starting of the over-heavy load, for even where the animals under the yoke can pull with effort the cart or truck once set going, the strain to re-start the dead weight after a stoppage is often terrible to witness ; and when there is a slight incline the bullocks' struggles to drag the cart up it, and the blows showered on them to force them into unnatural exertion, cry aloud for the interference of authority.

Some attempts have been made to check overloading,

but they have not been effective. In 1869, Babu Purna Chandra Mittra brought in a Bill which passed into law for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, which contained a provision that no cart should be overloaded, and making those responsible for the overloading liable to punishment. But the Act has practically been a dead letter in this respect, owing to the difficulties of determining what constituted overloading.

The best thing to do to prevent this form of cruelty is to divide draught animals into classes according to size, and then to assign a maximum load for an animal in each class. There would be no more difficulty in doing this, than in classifying ponies for purposes of sport, and without this all enactments as to overloading must fail. The load that can be drawn with ease by a large bullock is killing for a small one, but once the classes are fixed there will be no difficulty in protecting large and small alike from overloading. If the local Society cannot take up the subject, one of the first efforts of the Imperial League should be to press for a Bill against overloading. Meanwhile, each passer-by who sees a case should stop, ascertain the name of the owners, and report to the Society.

The next question to deal with is the housing of milch cows, and their treatment in the city cowsheds. Really, cows whose milk is to be used as human food ought not to be kept in the city at all, if only for selfish reasons. In all civilised countries efforts are being made to remove cows outside the limits of crowded cities. To keep cows in crowded districts is bad for the drinker of milk as well as for the yielder of milk. Milk is readily impregnated with dangerous poisons of all kinds, and good and health-giving milk cannot be

obtained from cows herded together under insanitary conditions, deprived of air and light, and without the green food necessary for the maintenance of their health. In Calcutta, as you can read in the report of Mr. Justice Brett, the state of the cowsheds is abominable. Moreover, the life of milch-cows here is very brief ; a young cow is purchased, a calf is born, is removed from the mother almost immediately and sold to the butcher, and then—with the help of the unmentionable cruelty of phooka—the cow is drained of milk so long as she yields any, and then follows her calf to the butcher. Young and valuable milch-cows are thus sacrificed after they have borne but a single calf, and that calf having been slain, so that there is a steady drain of life most valuable to the country. The cow, as giver of milk and mother of cattle, is one of the sources of agricultural wealth, and it is being ruthlessly sacrificed in this great city to the ignorant greed of a few.

. And here let me appeal to my own countrymen, rather than to my Hindu brethren. The removal of the calf soon after birth, and the sale of the milk intended by Nature for its nourishment, is a double blunder. The milk of the cow for some days after the birth of the calf is not wholesome for human food, and all cow-keepers who know their business leave this milk for the calf who needs it. In Benares, for instance, the milk is not used until the tenth day. Apart from this, the flesh of so young an animal is—even from the carnivorous standpoint—unwholesome, more unwholesome than it would be later. But I base my appeal on other grounds than these. The sale of cows and calves for food shocks the religious feelings of the great majority

of our Indian brothers, and digs a gulf between the races dwelling in this land. General Beatson—who had in charge the arrangements for the Royal party when T. R. H. the Prince and Princess of Wales visited India—and the Maharaja of Idar sometime ago asked me if I would not start a movement against beef-eating among Englishmen and Mussalmans. General Beatson said that a very large number of officers and men in the Army would willingly give up eating beef, so as to conciliate the Hindus, who formed the bulk of the population, thus removing one of the barriers which separate the races from each other. Sir Antony Macdonnell, now Lord Macdonnell, while Lieut. Governor of the United Provinces, never allowed a morsel of beef to pass his lips, in order that he might not, for the gratification of his palate, alienate the people whom he ruled. You may remember also that the Amir of Afghanistan, when he was here, would not sanction the slaughter of cattle, because he would not outrage the feelings of the people who were offering him a national welcome. Here then is a thing which you, my countrymen living in India, can do ; forbid beef to appear on your tables. Hundreds of thousands of cattle are slaughtered for you ; if you put a stop to this, you will confer an enormous economic benefit on India, as well as win millions of grateful hearts, for all these saved cattle will be available for agricultural purposes. Famines have swept away millions of cattle, and the supply is yearly becoming more inadequate for the agricultural needs of the country. If out of sheer good-will and gentleness of heart you will resolve to cut beef out of your dietary, you will remove a great cause of sore feeling, and you will increase the supply of cattle

for agriculture. Here is something you can all do at once.

Next, some method of loading donkeys should be devised other than the strap passing round the haunches for this often cuts into the flesh and causes an open wound. Meanwhile, any one who sees a donkey overloaded, wounded by the strap, or cruelly hobbled, should stop and remonstrate with the owner, and, as a last resort, bring the case to the notice of the Society.

But, why should you take all this trouble, why should you concern yourselves with the sufferings of animals? You have so many things to think about—reforms, budgets, elections, and what not. I have nothing to say against any of these interests and activities, for they all have their place in the varied life of a nation. But that is no justification for ignoring the sufferings of the animals around you, by whose help and patient service all your activities are carried on. The results of indifference to animal-suffering are far-reaching, as in a moment I will show you. But you may perhaps say: "I am not indifferent. I pay my five or ten rupees to the S.P.C.A. Why should I trouble further, when I pay others to see to it? That reminds me of what I have known of some orthodox people, who say many of their prayers by proxy, and pay a substitute to recite for them their mantras. Charity by proxy is a poor thing; our debt to the animal world cannot be met by paying a few rupees which we do not miss. The animal has a claim on every one of us for personal care and personal protection. We must not pass by on the other side—like the priest and the Levite in the parable—when we see the commission of an act of cruelty; we must play the good Samaritan, must stop, remonstrate and prevent. Every

act of cruelty which we see and do not try to check, forms part of our destiny in days to come ; we share in the cruel action we do not hinder, and we must share also in the inevitable reaction of pain to the doer. Human law cannot touch us, but the divine law cannot be escaped. Truly has an English poet said :

" Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceedingly small.

" Though with patience he stands, waiting, with exactness grinds He all."

Every act of cruelty which a man sees and does not seek to hinder falls into these mills of God, and is ground out as pain to himself.

There are two ways of stopping cruelty ; one by losing your temper and abusing the man ; this is infinitely better than callous indifference, but it is not the best way. The best way is by gentle remonstrance, explanation and persuasion. Gently explain to the cruel man what he is doing and the result of pain it will bring to himself, for he is often more thoughtless and ignorant than deliberately cruel. The ignorant man, like the child, lacks imagination, and we have to help him as well as to protect the animal. To make him desist for the moment through fear is not enough ; we must remove the cause of cruelty, not merely drive it underground.

And now comes the fuller answer to the question : Why should we exert ourselves to stop cruelty ? Because on the more evolved lies the burden of guiding evolution in his own sphere, and society goes upward, or begins to descend, in evolution as cruelty is, or is not, inflicted or tolerated. The qualities that distinguish man from the brute are mercy, tenderness, gentle-

ness, compassion. Human bodies are formed to express these, and their nervous system is builded as an apparatus for this expression. It is no excuse for human cruelty that the lion kills the stag, the cat the mouse, that "cruelty is in the scheme of nature." It is not in our part of the scheme. Human beings are higher than animals, and though they may inherit tendencies to cruelty from their savage ancestors—as they inherit tendencies to gluttony and promiscuity—they can only evolve by transcending these, and their further evolution must be away from the brute and towards the God; they must "let the ape and tiger die," and rise along the lines of mercy and tenderness, not sink along the lines of cruelty. Where indifference to cruelty is found it means the decay of Society, its entrance on the downward grade; where acquiescence in cruelty is found—under whatever name the cruelty may shelter itself—that Society is decadent and has no future, unless it changes its way; the bodies born into it will become coarser, generation after generation, until it has sunken into savagery.

Sometimes it is said in defence of cruelty: "The animals are ours, given to us for service." Granted. But given for what purpose? Are they given to us that we may treat them with cruelty, and train them merely for our own use, or are they given to us that we may co-operate with nature in their evolution, that we may play the part of elder brothers, of friends and educators, instead of the shameful part of tyrants and oppressors? It is ours to teach the animals with which we come into contact—they are future human beings—to develop their intelligence and train their faculties, in the same spirit—though on a lower level—in

which we train our children. You are not brutal to your own children, though you call them yours. Oh ! be tender and compassionate to these younger souls encased in animal bodies, and let your superiority be the measure of your gentleness. Then shall the whole atmosphere of your surroundings change, and cruelty, ill-treatment, indifference, will give place to mercy, gentleness and tenderness. Animals have their rights, and we have duties towards them, for rights belong to the weak and duties to the strong.

Go forth then, as knights, for the protection of the weak. Persuade, teach, if necessary, coerce. Hold animal shows, in which prizes shall be given to the best-cared for bullock, horse and donkey, for these will serve as education and as encouragement, and do more good than prosecutions. Reward for good is better than punishment for evil, as love is better than hate. Take up as your personal duty the protection of every animal that comes in your way : see to it that no avoidable suffering is inflicted upon any. So shall you deserve and win that noblest of all titles ; "The friend of all creatures."

THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY AND FRIENDS,

IT is my duty this afternoon to submit to you the report of the Madras Society for the Protection of Children, and in making that submission, I shall ask you not to accept it as a mere formal report, but rather that, when you lift your hands in acceptance, you shall pledge yourselves to the helping of the Society throughout the year that lies before us ; for the mere formal acceptance of a report written by others, the acceptance of work wherein the labour of others is reported—these are worthless and idle if your own help is not extended to the helpless, and if outside the hall you do not carry out in act that which, by the uplifting of your hands, you have pledged yourselves to do. I venture to submit first to His Excellency the Governor, and then to you, the citizens of Madras, that this Society is worthy of your helping, and does not receive from Madras the help for which it has the right to look.

It is sometimes said that the position of women in a country marks the level of civilisation to which the country has risen ; but it seems to me that the position of the child even more marks the state of the community, and that where the children are not carefully nurtured and protected, there the nation cannot expect either

* Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Madras Society for the Protection of Children, held in February, 1913, presided over by H. E. Lord Pentland, the Governor of Madras.

the blessing of God or the respect of man. Now this Society, as you know, is intended to help the children of this vast Presidency. It is a Society incorporated according to law to prevent the public and private wrongs of children and the corruption of their morals. It is intended to take action for the enforcement of the laws for their protection, and, when desirable, to have those laws amended. It is further intended to help destitute children, and to bring those who are fatherless and motherless to others who can take the place of the parents they have lost. It would not be possible to find a Society with nobler objects, one which ought to obtain the support and the help of every good citizen in this Presidency. Looking back over these reports, which have been sent to me from 1909 onwards, as I open each report I see as the President of the Society the representative for the time of the Imperial Crown. The King is the father of every fatherless child, and the helpless and the suffering look to him for rescue and for compassion ; and it is surely the high privilege of those who represent the Crown to take the place of guardian of the helpless children of the community, so that they may see in the person of the highest the one who represents to them protection, safety and succour. And when I turn from one report to another, I find that the place of Sir Arthur Lawley, so loved amongst us, was filled at once when he left us by Lord Carmichael. The keen regret which we of this Presidency felt when almost in a moment he was swept away from us—that regret only ceased when you, Sir (turning to His Excellency), came among us, and we found that we could look to you for the help and the sympathy which we knew we were receiving from him. So one after another in these

reports, the highest in our Presidency has been the Head of this Society for the Protection of Children.

You know how it is said, and said rightly—at least so I hold—that to the strong belong only Duties, to the weak alone belong Rights. Men and women have duties, children and animals have rights in every civilised community—the right to be protected, the right to be guarded, the right to be fed and clothed and shielded. If the tears of the little children, the groans of oppressed animals, if these ascend to God, they rot the foundation of a State and make hopeless the future of a nation. Well is it written in a great Scripture of the Hindus that it is the sorrow of the weak that undermines the throne of Kings ; and so we rejoice that here the throne stretches out his hands to guard the helpless, and that the children of our Empire shall not suffer so long as those who stand in high places come forward to see that right is done.

But while, friends, that is true, it is not all the truth. Every one of mature age should be a father and a mother to the fatherless and the motherless of the community. There stands the duty for many of you with regard to these reports. And it is not wholly neglected. In looking over the list amongst those who have been rescued, I find that some of the wealthier of the community have taken little children to train and help them, out of the hands of our society. I find cases recorded here in which an apparently hopeless case was taken away from miserable surroundings and given into the hands of a respectable Hindu family—a childless family—and became the child of the childless parents and is now growing up happily and well. Looking through the past reports I find many cases of that kind,

and in the one that I have the honour to submit to you, namely, this report of 1912, there are there also some cases which, I think, should stir you into helping the movement for which I am here asked to plead. I find, for instance, cases of girls—and this is a point I would specially submit to my Hindu brethren—I find cases here of young girls pledged in their girlhood, ere they knew the world, to the ruin of their womanhood in their maturity, and none to stretch a helping hand unless you come forward to protect them. For nearly twenty years in this land I have worked and lived in public life and in home life with the educated Indians of the land ; and I know I am speaking for them when I say that this shameful traffic is no part of Hindu civilisation, and that Hindus are the first to desire that these little girls should be saved from the degradation that is implied in the word *Devadasis*—servants of God—prostituted to the vilest uses of human passion. It is those who belong to Hinduism who must take this shame away and sweep it from our Indian land.

One step can be taken perhaps here by the Society—to appeal to the Legislature to strengthen the law of the land upon this subject, to raise the age when a child may doom herself to shame, and at least let her grow to something like womanhood before she is condemned to a dishonourable future, whence there is no escape. There, then, is one thing that the coming year should do. Never again in a report of this Society should we have to lament that scandal which is a cancer in our midst. Oh, some of you have little girls whom you love, little girls who cling about your knees, little children whom you hope to see mothers in happy homes. Is it not written that the wife is the Goddess of the household,

the Light of the home? Every child who is here pledged to shame might be a happy mother, and might be the light of husband and children in some respected Hindu home. Do you say that your own daughters are safe? I tell you that every daughter born of Hindu parents is your child, and you are bound to save and to protect her; and so I ask you to strengthen the Society in bringing about a change in the law, in strengthening the law, and making it possible that these shall be saved. Only law can do it. I know that Hindus are jealous—and rightly jealous—of legal interference with their religious faith; but does any Hindu dare to tell me that the prostitution of a child is a part of Hinduism, and that he would not welcome the strong hand of law when it takes a child from the hands of a woman who has a right to sell her to disgrace and shame? Do you want to see how women, who have grown old in that miserable and shameful trade, look back on the way in which their lives have been passed? Then turn to the report and read how a temple woman who had amassed thirty thousand rupees as a fortune during the course of her unhappy life, dying, sent five thousand rupees to this Society to save other children from the fate which had been the curse and the misery of her own life. Could you have a better proof than such a legacy from one of the women themselves? Too late to save herself, she tried to save her little sisters, and sent to the Society which works against the whole of this abuse a poor five thousand rupees as not only a gift to its funds, but a protest against the wrong which had made her what she was. Apart from that point I press it specially because legislation is proposed, and it lies with the citizens of the land whether that legislation shall

pass. Remember that public opinion must speak strongly; because there are so many matters that law has to deal with, and unless they are supported by the public voice they are likely to be put aside.

Leaving that, then, see what other work is done by the Society, worthy of your support. Boys and girls are sent out into the street to beg, not for their own support—though that is sad and shameful enough—but in order to keep lazy elders, who out of the begging by the children make their miserable livelihood. You read in the report of one crippled boy with limbs twisted more by the man who owned him, in order that out of the boy's agony a few more annas might be wrung from the charitable passer-by. That boy is saved by the Society. That boy is taken away from the man who tortured him, and placed on a couch where his sad life may be less sad for the few years that may be his. Take the other cases where little girls, sent out to beg, pass well-nigh inevitably into a life of shame. Take another case of a boy, said to be the terror of his neighbourhood, who was taken by the Society, put to school, gradually and gently disciplined and led aright, until the high spirits, which often make a boy naughty when there is no crime in the boy, found fit expression in making an honest livelihood. That boy has been saved from evil and placed on the path of good. Take another case of a girl said to be unsavable, and one who could not be rescued. One of the members of the Society took her into his home, showed her some kindness, and she is now restored to the husband whom she had deserted, and happy home-life is again opening its doors before her. Why, if the Society during the past year had only saved one boy and one girl from evil, it

would have justified its existence, and I only give you a few cases out of many ; and if it does not do more, it is because you leave it without money and without help, and because one or two officers, however good, cannot do much ; if the subscription is only about a thousand rupees or so, what is that for this Presidency ? Because we starve the Society, its usefulness is limited and the children largely remain unsaved. It is your duty, the duty of each one of you. These children when they are taken from the street can only be changed by education and by love. There is not one boy, however turbulent, in whom there is not the instinct of hero-worship which you should utilise for his salvation. If you take a so-called bad boy, shut him up in a house where he has no freedom, give him tasks and punish him when he fails, that boy will grow into a criminal and will be a curse to the community. Rather let some of the young among you—young, rich and idle—come forward and enroll yourselves as men who will look after these troublesome boys, who will play with them—and play better than they do—and so become heroes in their sight. Draw out the love of the boy ; there is no boy who has no love in his heart. Do not threaten the boy, do not punish him, but coax him and give him prizes, show him things that attract him, and then you will win him back. This is a splendid work, a work which each of you can do ; but the danger is when each of you says : “ It is not my duty ; others will do it.” So long as one child walks the Madras streets, helpless and miserable, so long as one girl is left to beg along our thoroughfares, so long as one boy causes terror to his neighbourhood, so long it is your duty and mine to bring forward the help that those helpless ones have a right

to demand at our hands. It is thus that some of us have learnt the meaning of religion.

It is not religion simply to go to church or mosque or temple. That is good, but it is not the heart of religion. It is religion to help the little children ; it is religion to wipe away the tears of the sorrowful ; to nurse the sick ; to comfort the afflicted ; to make the world a better and a happier place, because you are living in it. In vain do you mark your foreheads, and in vain you wear the green turban of Mecca, which shows that you have been on pilgrimage to that holy spot. The true religion is the serving of the helpless, and thus alone can man testify his faith in the eyes of God and man alike. It is on that ground, friends, that I put before you this report, in order that you may adopt it, and in order that next year some speaker, standing where I stand, may have the happier task of congratulating you on scores of cases you have saved where now I can only speak of units, on a change in the poorest child population of the city, where now only one or two are helped. Such then, friends, my duty, to ask your help, to plead for your support, and to beg you to make the reception of the report a reality and not an idle word. Sure am I of this, that as you help the helpless, so will stronger help come down to your own homes and lives. Oh ! we are always ready to stretch out empty hands to God and the Angels above us ; but full hands must be stretched out to those below us, otherwise the hands held upwards will ever remain unfilled, the cries unanswered from on high.

So I leave this report, and I know in so leaving it, that along this path of help His Excellency the Governor will lead us, and give us the privilege of following in.

the steps that shall save the helpless and make Madras
and the Presidency of which it is the capital a happier,
because a nobler, place than it is to-day.

INDIA'S AWAKENING.*

BROTHERS :

FOR many long years past I have urged on you, and on those like you in all parts of India, the necessity of a spiritual awakening before the awakening of a material prosperity became possible. You know that during many years past, since the Theosophical Society was founded on these shores, the importance of religion, the necessity of spiritual knowledge, has been constantly insisted upon, has been constantly urged ; and in doing this, those who brought the renewal of the message were only treading in the footsteps of their far-off predecessors, who have ever declared that from the Spirit come forth all things that exist, and that without the life of the Spirit not even animal, vegetable or mineral life were possible. That profound truth in the ancient philosophy of India is the only foundation for progress of every kind. One Spirit, and one only ; one Life and none other ; every form from the one living Essence, every being rooted in the everlasting One.

In the past, I have sometimes traced for you, the steps of India's descent ; how from the time of her great spirituality, when the life of the Spirit was seen as the sun in the Heavens, how from that time downwards, with the decay of spirituality, went also the decay of the desirable things. And I remember how

often I have pressed upon you how first there came the lessening of the spiritual life, then the decay of the original side of intellectual thought, of the creative intelligence, and only when those had gone far down into the twilight, came the slow decay of material prosperity. You may remember that I have put it to you that the awakening, the reviving, of Indian life must follow the order in which the descent had gone. First of all, the reviving of true spirituality, of true religion, of the vital understanding of the profoundest truths of all existence ; then, after that had made its way to an appreciable extent, must come the training, the culture, the guidance of the intelligence, so that a wisely planned and wisely guided education might train the future workers of the land. I remember saying to you that when the spiritual life has again become potent, when the educational life has again become pervasive, then only can material prosperity safely return. To men with the knowledge of the One, with the unselfishness which grows out of the realisation of the common life, to their hands only can be safely entrusted the material guidance of the people. It is along that line that Indian progress has gone for many a year past. First, the great revival of religion. It began with the revival of Buddhism in the Island of Ceylon, where, as you may remember, education swiftly followed after the re-awakened faith. Then came the great revival of Hinduism, that has spread from one end of the land to the other, from the Himalayas to Tuticorin, and everywhere is recognised as a fact. Then followed the recognition that in a rightly directed education lay the only way of training for the motherland citizens who would be worthy of her past and therefore capable of

building her future ; out of that will arise all the varied activities of a full and rich national life, and we shall see the nation, which India never yet has been, but which India shall be in the days that are dawning.

Now the change to the material awakening has come somewhat more swiftly than most of us expected. I should say it has come a little too soon, were it not that I believe that over the destinies of nations the hands that guide are so wise and so loving that nothing can really come either too soon or too late. But, to our eyes, looking with purblind vision, we should sometimes be almost inclined to say that events are travelling in India a little more rapidly than is well. For we need for the wise guiding of a material movement, men trained from boyhood in religion and in true wisdom, so that the brain may be balanced and calm, the hands strong and steady ; for the moment you touch the popular mind and the popular heart you awaken forces that are apt to go beyond the control of wisdom, and it needs a nucleus of wise and steady thinkers in order that a popular movement may find its way aright.

Let us, then, at this moment of immense importance to India's future, consider what ought to be the line most wisely to be followed in the great rush which is coming upon us. I pause a moment on the sentence just uttered, of the hands that guide, and the wisdom and the love which shape a nation's destinies. It is no new thought to you, who have grown up in the atmosphere in which the celestial and the physical worlds are mingling—it is no new thought to you that the Devas, the Shining Ones, mingle in the affairs of men. Nor should it be a new thought to you—although to many it may now seem strange—that every nation

also has its own Devas who guide its affairs, who shape its present and its future.

Let me then remind you that in the vast unseen hierarchy who mingle in human affairs, there are Devas of many grades, as well as the great Rishis who are the planners and regulators of events. First of all, there is the plan of the Lord Himself, of Ishvara, the Ruler of the system, who sketches, in the dawn of the creative days, the plan of evolution along which His universe shall go. Out of the innumerable conceivabilities in the mind of the Supreme, some are chosen by the Ishvara, who builds a system, as the material for His system, and woven into the plan for His unfolding. No pen, save that of His finger, writes that wondrous drama, which slowly is unfolded in the history of the evolving universe, written so that none may change, written so that none may amend, written by a wisdom inconceivable to us, and by a love of which the deepest love of the human heart is but the faintest and most shadowy reflection.

Then the working out of that plan is given into the hands of those whom we may call His ministers, the great Ones who come into the system, from systems long gone by, to co-operate with Him in the shaping of a new humanity; into their hands His plan is given, and theirs the brains of wisdom and the hands of strength that bring that plan into the details that we call history. They plan out the working and give to every nation the acting of a part in that great plan; to the Deva who rules the nation, and who has under his control a hierarchy of lesser Devas, that part is given to be worked out in the history of the people. Now the plan is for all humanity, and not for one nation

only, and each nation, in turn, has its part to play ; each nation, in turn, is cast either for the moment's weal or the moment's woe ; and those only can read aright the history of humanity, who know the powers that work behind the veil ; for you cannot manage a household unless you know the will of the householder, and before you can realise the wisdom of household guidance, you must know the wants of the children and of the other members of the house. So in the history of peoples you cannot judge by the Statesmen, the Generals, the Admirals, and the Monarchs, who all work out the various tasks that are given them to do. You must look behind them to those who guide, to the great Householder, the supreme Grihastha of the system. When we come to India, we know that all this is true of India and of India's Deva-King, who stands high above the nation and works out, millennium after millennium, the parts which are given to him for his nation to play in the world's history ; these parts have outlined the nation's story through all the difficulties, the dangers, the humiliations of the past. On that I may not dwell long now. Partly to-morrow morning, in speaking of Kurukshetra, I shall have to explain the "how" and the "why" of the difficulties through which India has passed. For the moment I leave them untouched, to turn to that which immediately concerns us now, to the present and its working.

First of all, in order that India might again take her place amongst the nations of the world, mightier even than in the past—a glorious past—there came the spiritual messengers, the messengers who were to revive the varied religions of the land. That has been done to

a great extent as regards Hinduism and Buddhism. But you must remember that the other religions must also have, and to some extent have had, each in its own place, the advantage of the same spiritual and enlivening influence. Look at the community called Zoroastrian, and see how it has, of late years, become spiritualising in its tendencies instead of materialising as in the past. The great faith of Islam is the one which only shows in a very limited measure the enlivening influence of the new spiritual impulse, yet there also the same working is beginning, and there also there are signs of the spreading of the same influence, so that Islam also shall take her place, spiritually alive and spiritually potent, to bear her part in the re-shaping of India as she is to be. That work is not finished, in fact never will be finished ; it is rather ever continuing, but all the first great steps are taken and success in that is assured.

Passing to education, there an immense amount has been done and far more has yet to be done, as I shall show to you in a few moments. We have only begun the very A B C of the educational reform which is necessary in order to make India what she should be. Now when a nation does not move sufficiently swiftly along the path of progress, when she does not rouse herself enough to the voice that appeals, that warns, and that counsels, then the Deva of the nation takes other means in hand, in order to awaken his people and make them see along what lines their path should be trodden. And these other means used by the Deva are goads. They are like the whip that touches the horse when he is too lazy, and what you look on as national misfortunes, as things that you even cry out against with insistence and with passion, these are.

very often, rightly seen, the goads which make a nation move a little faster towards the goal on which the Deva's eyes are fixed. This is especially true just now, and will serve my purpose well as an illustration with regard to education. Education is a matter that belongs to the nation when rightly understood. Fathers and guardians are the people who ought to fashion the national education. How long have I been urging upon you to take this matter of education into your own hands, and not leave it for others to guide and plan. How long, in my travels up and down through the country, have I urged upon you the importance of this question of national education. I remember how, about three years ago, when I spoke in Bombay, I urged on every man and on every woman, mother and father, that on them lay the heavy responsibility of the education and the training of the child. I remember how there I urged upon you that your own interests, if nothing else, should stir you to the guidance of your children's education ; for you do not want to continue to overcrowd, as you are doing, the ranks of the so-called learned professions and the ranks of the Government service. Those are not things which make nations great, however necessary they may be, and however necessary they are, for the mechanism and administration of the nation. The things that make a nation great, from the material standpoint, are not the learned professions and Government service, but scientific agriculture, well-devised manufactures, thoughtfully-planned arts and crafts, and the innumerable forms of workmanship that go to the building up of national wealth. But along the lines on which education has been carried on, this has been left on one side, mind you, the blame for

that does not lie on the Government ; it lies on the people. It is useless and idle to blame Government, when you are the people who can do it, if you have the heart, the will, and the perseverance. Out of your pocket comes every rupee that the Government spends on education. Out of your pocket come the far too few rupees that build the Colleges and Schools, save the Missionary Establishments. If, instead of sending your boys to Government Colleges and Missionary Schools, you built your own schools, and had your own teachers, you might guide education exactly as you would. It is not that there is not money enough in the country. I know it is said that India is poor ; so she is, in a sense, poor, that is, as regards the masses of her people. But not too poor to build Colleges and Schools for your children while you are able to maintain, as you are doing, large crowds of men as mendicants, in the full strength of vigorous life, who are innocent of all sacred learning, innocent of the light, who have nothing of the Sannyasi but the cloth that covers them, and who are yet fed and sheltered by the crore. India is not poor so long as your Chetties and Banias can give lakhs upon lakhs of rupees for the restoration of ancient temples and the gilding of their pinnacles. You do not need to increase your charities, that is not wanted ; but oh ! if you would only turn them into channels that fertilise instead of channels that corrupt, India would have wealth enough to educate her sons and daughters, and to make possible a new life in the future.

I do not speak against the restoration of temples. That is well. It is well that man should worship, rightly, nobly and rationally. I do not speak against the restoration of temples, but I do speak against the

mere restoration that leaves the priesthood ignorant and profligate. I do speak against the restoration of a temple where no school lives under its shadow, and where children are not taught by those whose duty it is to teach—less gilding on the pinnacles of temples, and more gilding of learning in the hearts of boys and girls. And if you would still keep your temples in order, but spend some of the money that is wasted on vast crowds of idle mendicants on the education of your children how rapidly would India rise in the scale of nations, and how quickly she would claim her right place among the peoples of the world.

And that is your work. Last year in speaking on "Theosophy in relation to Politics," I urged upon you the formation of Educational Boards in every district of India. Now Government has nothing to do with that. You do not need to ask for Government permission or authority. You have only to gather a few of your cleverest men and Princes together and make them into an Educational Board, for a definitely outlined area. What is wanted, is not Government help. It is your work. What is wanted is self-devotion, energy, initiative, the willingness to go through years of drudgery ; for only in that way can true education be built up. This has not yet been acted on. The idea, when spoken about anywhere, causes a good deal of cheering, but only in a few places has there been any real earnest work, even in starting an Indian school. Hence a goad was needed, and it has been applied. An Education Commission goes all round the country. The Education Commission presents its report, and the representative of the vast majority of those whose children have to be educated under the new law

presents a minority report—a minority of one. Now, certainly, if you weigh heads, instead of counting them that minority might outweigh many, for that one was Mr. Justice Gurudas Bannerji. He knew very well what sort of education was wanted by the people, but he was only one, and the English majority shaped the Education Bill, and passed the Act. When it was passed, a number of very wise protests were made—thoughtful, well-considered and rational—but why only protests? Why were not the protests followed by the formation of Boards, which should do that which the protestors wished? The protest was wisely made. Such protests are necessary, but they should be followed by action, for thought that is not followed by action acts like a gangrene in the human mind. Better remain silent, better not even think, if you are not prepared to act; better not think, unless you are prepared to put your activity into action, for in the higher spheres, as you know thought produces action; down here, thought, and especially talk, without action, does not get a nation very far along the line of progress. So all the energy flows out in the talk, and nothing is done. The national Deva thought something more in the way of pressure was wanted, and the Education Act became law. And very well it did. You do not approve of it, nor do I; but still it was wanted, because nothing else would stir the people into action. That was why I said that where a people would not move by exhortation and advice, some goad was used in order to stir them into activity. Now that you find education has become dearer, that to educate the boys strains to breaking the narrow incomes of the fathers; now that you see Higher

Education is being more and more blocked to the class that needs it most—a class hereditarily learned, but always poor and now largely shut out from the costly education of the day ; now that the education question has come in this form : “ You must take this costly education or nothing ”—you must begin to say : “ No, it shall not be nothing. It shall be something, created by my own hands and out of my own money and brains.” But in order that the goad may serve its purpose well, it is necessary that there should be hot and bitter feelings in the hearts of many of the people affected. It is that which makes the steam that drives the engine. It is that which presently makes the piston to go backwards and forwards and the wheels to turn. It is that which gives force, though it also causes an immense amount of excitement and foolish talk. These things are necessary, in order to generate the forces which make the engine of the nation move. So that, the Education Act is, as I regard it, a goad to make us struggle against it, as we are obliged to struggle at Benares, in keeping our fees low. I am glad it has passed, because it has—I hope it has—given the impulse which will make men take the education of their children into their own hands.

But now, how ? By beginning at the right end and not at the wrong. First, by making your Educational Boards all over the country ; next by creating Colleges and Universities, and most of all by making such a public opinion, especially among the Indian Princes, the great merchants, and employers of labour, as shall induce them to recognise the degrees given by the Indian Universities as valid credentials for those who are seeking employment. Until you have done that, you

have done nothing. It is no good even making a University, unless you have made a body of people who are prepared to take its graduates when they have taken their degrees, and thus open to them means of livelihood. It is no good beginning with boys. You must begin with men.

Now I will tell you why I object to boys being thrown into political conflicts. They may ruin their whole lives in a sudden surge of excitement, and in their manhood bitterly reproach those who took advantage of their inexperience. While education is under the control of Government, and the fate of every boy is in the hands of the officials of his town, it is cruel to fling the lads against them. A boy dismissed from School or College, and refused a leaving certificate, has his education ruined and his future livelihood destroyed. When people unaccustomed to political action suddenly plunge into it, they are apt to think after they act instead of before. Here lies one of the dangers in India's Awakening, and that is what I said, I fear it has come too soon. Those who are trained in politics, as in my past life I have been—for I have taken a large part in the political struggles of the people in England, and I worked there in difficult times side by side with my old friend, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh—make it, as we made it, one of the rules of political life never to tell another man to go where there was risk, where we did not go in front; never to tell a procession to go where there was danger, unless we walked in front, so that we should be the first people on whom blows fell. It was the glory of Charles Bradlaugh, when he lay on his death-bed, that despite his struggles and difficulties, there was not one home that had been made desolate

by him, not one man who had gone to jail for the work that he had asked him to do. The front is the place of the leader ; it is the place of the man, and not the place of the boy.

There is another reason why it is bad to send boys to the front. There can be no wise politics without thought beforehand. People who shout first and think afterwards make a mob, they do not make a political party ; and that is the thing that the boy does. How much do you think a boy of this height (pointing to a boy about four feet) knows about the good or the evil of the Partition of Bengal ? He shouts out and protests. It is bad training for the future. In the College, students should discuss political questions, social questions and economic questions. They should debate them, discuss them, and talk them over in every possible way. We train them to do that in the Central Hindu College. But we do not allow them to protest against the Government. And the reason is a very simple one. When they have discussed these questions beforehand, when they have talked them over, then, when they have gone out into the world, they will be ready to form rational opinions. But if, before they study and understand the questions of the day, they shout out their approval or disapproval out of empty heads, they make a great deal of noise, but noise of no value, like bladders which, when beaten, make a noise, but collapse if you prick them with a pin. I do not want India to work along those lines. Train your boys to think first and then to form opinions, not to call out first and then wonder what they have been shouting for. That is bad moral training. It puts boys on wrong lines, and it takes away that profound sense of responsibility which ought to be at the heart of every

one who mingles in political life. For remember what playing at politics means. Remember that it means playing with property ; it means playing with liberty ; it means playing with the lives of men. Leaders in the political arena have to remember all that, when they take the responsibility of calling men to action. When you have a man like Mr. Gokhale—who has trained himself by years upon years of study and of self-denial, by his self-sacrificing work in the Fergusson College, for twenty years, on seventy-five Rupees a month and a retiring pension of twenty-five Rupees a month, when you have a man trained in that way, and one who studies every subject to the very bottom before he speaks about it, then you have a man who may be trusted and of whom a nation may well be proud, a worthy leader in the political arena.

In the matter of education, why not begin to act ? You know you send your boys still by thousands and thousands to Missionary Schools, and it is a disgrace—not to the Missionaries, for they are doing work which they honestly think to be to the glory of God and for the good of all men ; they believe that their religion is much better than yours, and I am bound to say that they love it better, because they work for it much harder, as a rule. You ought to remember that your religion is the oldest of all living religions, and the most perfect in its range and in its details. Surely, it is not for you to take the children, whose bodies you have given, and, robbing them of their birthright, put them into other hands and mould them in an anti-Indian fashion. The Missionaries do not make many Christians. Here and there they do, as in Trichinopoly, but, as a rule, they do not make many converts. But I tell you what they do.

They dig up the roots of devotion and religion in the plastic soil of the boy's heart. They wither them with ridicule, they trample them down with sarcasm, and when the boy grows up, he grows up an unbeliever in all religions, a bad Hindu and not a Christian—a kind of hybrid, who is of no use to his country. When you de-spiritualise an Indian, you denationalise him. Why does that go on? *Because you do not care.* It sounds hard to say so, but it is true. If you cared, it would not last for another month. What does it want to bring about the change? A few men in every town to band themselves together into an Educational Committee; a few rich merchants to be visited and asked to subscribe so much per month for some years, and then the putting-up of a building for a school, and the sending of the boys. There is one difficulty in your way—the recognition of the school by the Government, and that is a serious difficulty as things are, for unless the school is recognised, the pupils of the school are not permitted to go on into the University. Still, if you would work well and steadily and perseveringly, you would, I think, be able to win recognition in the long run and, if not, to do without it. I have in my mind what happened in Trichinopoly two or three years ago, when I got a few people together who said that they would collect monthly subscriptions in the town to have a College of their own. The Roman Catholics have a College, and some other missionary body has a College, but the Hindus and the Mussalmans have no College of their own. Did they succeed? Not a bit of it. I myself drew up a proposal for the Madras University. The University took it into consideration. But where were the funds? The people of Trichinopoly did not care enough to keep their child-

ren from the Missionary Schools and Colleges, to supply the small sum, comparatively, that is wanted to make a College there, where the Hindu and Mussalman boys might learn apart from Christian influence. Not long ago in another southern town, there was a College for sale, and for sale without money. It is not often that you can buy anything without money. The Government wanted to get rid of it, but the Government asked for a body of Hindu gentlemen who would pledge themselves to conduct the College. But they could not get them. The College went a-begging and still is in Government hands.

These are the things which you have to take seriously, especially now that the people are awakening. For things are going on swiftly and unless you bestir yourselves to make your educational mechanism, the tide of enthusiasm will flow into channels that will be harmful instead of useful. Do not call your boys out from the present schools until you have others in which to receive them. When you can say to your son : " My boy, walk across the road to that school, which is our own," then by all means do it. Then you can do without Missionary schools. Otherwise you will find yourselves in endless trouble. What you should do in Madras, and do at once, is to begin the formation of a great organisation of leading, wealthy, influential people, who will give employment to your boys, if need be, when the pinch comes, and Government refuses to recognise your Colleges or Universities. I believe in Indian Universities for Indians, where Indian degrees shall be given in Arts, and Science, and in Industries that are useful for the national unfolding.

I see they are now going to teach French and

German, Latin and Greek. Very useful, no doubt. So many of you will want to go to France, and talk French in Paris. So many of you will want to go to Germany, and enter into trade concerns there. Latin and Greek you may want to read, in order to understand mediæval Christian writers, I suppose, for your spiritual training. Unless this absurdity is the idea, it is difficult to see why they should be preferred to Sanskrit and Arabic, for Sanskrit is as good and as intellectual a training as either of these two languages.—Greek being but a child of Sanskrit—and Arabic is the language in which the mediæval learning of Islam is embodied. Our Mussalman brothers are not at present wise enough to vindicate Islamic learning by translating the treasures of that knowledge, which from Bagdad spread into Europe. Arabic and Sanskrit, these are the two classical languages for India, not Latin and Greek. Instead of French and German, you should teach English and one vernacular, one common language which would serve everywhere as a means of communication between educated and uneducated alike. You ought to make Hindi a second language throughout the land. I have heard it said that Tamil has a literature which is magnificent, and this must certainly not be left to die. But in addition to the boy's own Vernacular, he should always learn Hindi for that is the most widely spread vernacular of the country, and one can go from one end of the land to the other and talk in Hindi to all, save the most illiterate people in every part of it. If you had Sanskrit or Arabic, according to the religion of the boy, Hindi as a common tongue, a thorough knowledge of his own Vernacular, and then the necessary English for all dealings with foreign.

countries, and in Government and Court matters, you would have an education, so far as languages are concerned, that would make a boy ready for the future, and enable him to take up his work in the world as soon as he goes into it.

The most important thing, which I have often urged, is technical education, and above all thorough education in agriculture. Unfortunately you have only one general business here, namely, agriculture. At least it might be made very much better than it is at present, so that famines, which are a recurring horror in the land, might be prevented. Famines are preventible things, and things that ought to be prevented. But they can only be prevented by a wiser system of agriculture on the one hand, and by the building up of manufacturing industries throughout the land on the other.

But, mind you, the manufactures that you want are the manufactures of this country. Here arts and crafts are fast dying. Your weaving craft is dying out of existence, because its products are not bought. That brings me to the next point, for education here slips into economics. Why is it that the weavers of cloths, the potters, and metal workers, and the makers of beautiful objects of all kinds, the weavers of shawls in Kashmir, and of muslins and silks in other parts of the land, why are they slowly disappearing? These people, who, by heredity, are fitted for the work, are swelling the ranks of the agricultural labourers, starving the land and overcrowding the fields. Why this? Because for many years you have been wearing foreign goods in preference to home-made ones. It should not have wanted the Partition of Bengal to teach you to produce at home what you need. When you think of it, the

Swadeshi movement has nothing to do with that. Whether Bengal has one Lieutenant-Governor, or two, may be a point of serious importance to the population over whom they rule. But the Partition of Bengal was not wanted to make the Swadeshi movement. The Swadeshi movement was not born after the Partition. It has been going on for years and up and down the country, but the difficulty was that only a few people were in favour of it, and the great mass of the people were totally indifferent. One thing, of course, was that the foreign-made goods were cheaper, but also less durable. Assuming that they are cheaper how stupid that they should be so! You grow cotton, you send the cotton to Lancashire, Lancashire spins and weaves it into cloths and sends them out here, and sells them cheaper than you can spin and weave your own cotton! There is something very badly managed in this, to say the least of it. If a thing can be sold more cheaply after paying all the freight to Lancashire and back, after paying high wages in England instead of small wages to Indian handloom weavers, it is certainly by some queer kind of upside-down management. I am not forgetting, of course, the unfair duties levied on Indian mills for the benefit of Lancashire, and other difficulties that occur to your minds. But they do not practically touch your village weaving industry at all. You should have gone on supporting the Indian weaver, working in his own village, and giving you lasting and well-made cloths. If that had been done the village weavers would have remained prosperous, and that prosperity would have reacted on the agriculturists and so with everything else. Fashion has been more powerful than patriotism. Now, thanks to the Partition of Bengal, poor patriotism has a

chance. But the present enthusiasm for Swadeshi goods will only be a flare like the blaze of twigs, easily lighted and quickly dying out, unless a principle underlies the movement and not a passing political irritation. No durable things are built on violent passion. Nature grows her plants in silence and in darkness, and only when they have become strong do they put their heads above the ground.

Now I am glad of all this excitement, for, as I said before, it generates steam. It has made the Swadeshi movement a far more living movement than it was. So I am very glad of it. I am glad to see all the froth and the bubble and the fuss. Some of them are very foolish, I admit, but still it means life instead of stagnation. What all good men should set their faces against is any attempt to put forcible pressure on people to do what others think that they ought to do. Wear Swadeshi clothes, as I have been urging you to do for years, but if your neighbour chooses to wear an English coat, argue with him, tell him it is unpatriotic, but do not tear it off his back. That sort of violence has ruined some good movements in England, and it is always wrong. None has the right to force other people to tread his own path against their will. Every man has a right to use, to follow, his own judgment. Convince him by argument and reasoning. Tell him that his conduct is unpatriotic, wrong and irrational ; tell him he is making other countries rich while he starves his own. But do not carry on a mad crusade against everything English, especially with the help of the boys. Appeal to a man's brains. Surely there is argument enough : without home manufactures, there is no prosperity ; without home manufactures, there are recurring famines ;

without home manufactures, there are overcrowded unproductive professions and under-manned industrial pursuits.

Every one of you can quietly, in his own town, go against the craze for foreign goods, and help forward Indian manufactures. It is so easy to do. Sometimes there is a little more trouble, I admit ; sometimes I have had to wait patiently for four or five days, or even weeks, before I could get an Indian-made thing, when I could have got a foreign-made one in a moment ; but if you cannot be patient for the sake of building up the industrial prosperity of your country, what a poor thing your patriotism must be. Help this movement in every way that you can, save by ways that are wrong ; for remember that the Devas are behind all national policies, and therefore that the wrong way is always the long way, and useless.

Utilise the enthusiasm of the moment by turning it into wisely planned channels. Band yourselves together, for co-operation strengthens and helps enthusiasm. Use the crafts and products of this country in preference to others. But be a little patient. If you find that Government, which has been favourable to this movement, is now frowning on it in one part of the country, remember that, after all, that is quite natural under the conditions that have arisen. Governments are not perfect, any more than the governed. After all, Governments are only men, just as you are, with the same faults and the same short-sightedness. Therefore the Government should learn to be patient with the governed ; and the governed with the Government. Now, in the past, Government has been favourable to the Swadeshi movement, and it will be so again. Natural-

ly, for Government does not want famines in the land ; it does not want the people to be poor, for, apart from all questions of humanity, if they are poor, they cannot pay much in the way of taxes. It is to the advantage of Government that you should be rich ; therefore it will help the movement again, when things are quieter ; just now, it has been made into a political battle-cry, but that will pass. Politics are constantly changing. one burning question to-day and another to-morrow. Go on quietly and steadily without any fuss, building up your Indian manufactures, educating your sons. You think brains are wanted for pleading ; much more are brains wanted for carrying on large agricultural and industrial concerns. We want the brightest brains for the building up of Indian industries at the present time. If an Indian Prince wants to have an electrical plant installed in his capital, he has to go to Europe to find an engineer who will set up for him his electrical machinery. That must be so, until you educate your boys on the right lines. Educate them on all the lines of learning wanted to make a nation great. Get rid of the stupid idea that it is good, from the standpoint of class, to be a starving pleader, and bad to be a flourishing merchant. It is a mistake. A nation that goes that way goes down. It is a man's business to make his livelihood respectable, and respectability grows not out of the nature of the livelihood but out of the man. A man of high character, of noble ideal, of pure life, can make any calling respectable, and do not forget that a calling which helps national prosperity is more respectable than a calling which does not. That is a lesson that has to be learned in Modern India.

Many resent the changes which are coming about but.

although many of them be not along the lines of the ancient civilisation, yet, it must be remembered, that the spirit of this time, as much as that of any other, is the Divine Spirit. In whatever form it clothes itself, it is in the work of humanity to-day, as it was in the work of humanity in the past, to help humanity onwards, or to make it step forward in the right way. But it is not the right way now to tread only in the foot-prints of the past, simply to re-introduce what has been. Your duty is to be inspired by the same spirit that made the past great, and in that spirit to shape the form suitable for the India of to-morrow.

Why should you be afraid to tread a new path? What is the creator of every form save the spirit? Why then be afraid to go on with the life, and to leave dead forms behind? And the strange thing is that often men cling most passionately to the forms which do not really belong to the life, but which are only excrescences which have happened to grow up round the living forms, as barnacles grow on a ship's bottom, and can be knocked off without harming the ship. There is one rule that helps us in distinguishing customs that are only barnacles from the vessel that carries the life. That is to be preserved which is ancient, according to the Shastras, and universal. But the things which are local, partial, modern, not according to the Shastras, these are the things which may indeed have been useful at the time of their formulation, but are now the useless and even mischievous barnacles on the ship. Trust to life, to the living spirit. We were not there to guide the life, when it made the glorious past. Life can be trusted, for it is divinely guided, and all we have to do is to co-operate with it. That is the idea you must have above all things.

Life is something greater than yourselves ; you are only one tiny part of life, and the life makes its own forms. Study its tendencies and work with them, but it is life that builds, not men. Then you co-operate in the building of the forms, and if a form does not succeed it will be broken ; and you should be glad in the breaking of the useless form as you should be glad in the form that means success. Failure often means winning, and it needs dozens, nay hundreds, of attempts before the perfect masterpiece shines out in full. Trust life ; that is the great lesson for these days of change, for change is coming, change from every side. Those changes that are good will endure, and you must be very patient while they are in the making. Be full of hope and full of courage.

All men die. You may say : Is that encouraging ? Surely yes, for when a man dies, his blunders, which are of the form, all die with him, but the things in him that are part of the life never die, although the form be broken.

There is a new form to be built here, a form which has never yet been built and that is India herself as one nation. As one nation, she exists in the world of spirit ; as one nation, she exists in the world of mind. As one nation, she has never yet existed on the physical plane, but the day of her birth is near. Many States and Kings have been, many Maharajas, Rajas, and sometimes one Raja, great beyond his fellows, has held a wide imperial sway. But never yet has there been one India from North to South, from East to West. But she is coming. That one India, when she comes, will have her head crowned with the Himalayas, and her feet will be bathed in the waters that wash the shores

of Tuticorin ; she will stretch out her right hand to Burma and Assam, and her left hand to Kathiawar and Baluchistan. That India has to be born. How ? First, by believing in her with a strenuous faith, for faith is a mighty power ; and then by thinking of her and aspiring after her as an ideal. For what a man thinks becomes actual in practice. And never yet was a nation born that did not begin in the spirit, pass to the heart and the mind, and then take an outer form in the world of men. That India, the sound of her feet is on the mountains, and soon the rising eastern sun shall glow upon her forehead. Already she is born in the mind of men.

But let your thought for unity be potent and resolute ; learn to drop sectarian divisions ; learn to drop provincial divisions and animosities ; leave off saying : " I am a Madrasi ; I am a Punjabi ; I am a Bengali ; I am an up-country man " ; leave all that behind and teach your boys and girls to say : " I am an Indian." Out of the mouths of the children thus speaking shall be born the India of to-morrow. Many religions will grow within her : not only her own parent religion, but others too will be woven into her being. Hindu and Mussalman must join hands, for both are Indians. Hindu, Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians, must join hands for all are Indians. In the India of the future, all men of every faith must join. If India is to be the spiritual light of the future, in her must be focussed the light that comes from every faith, until in the prism of India they are all united into the one light which shall flood with sunlight the world, and all lights shall blend in the Divine Wisdom. That is our work. My Brothers, I am now talking to you, but this thing will

not be made by talking. It is made by living. I would not dare to speak to you and offer you counsel if I did not strive to live that which I advise. Day by day, week by week, month by month, I strive to shape my life on the noble models which may serve the land, and in serving India will serve Humanity ; for greater than any land is Humanity, and greater than any one people is the Race of whom all peoples are but branches ; and if we have such hopes of future India, it is because we believe that her coming will be a new light to the world. There was an old people in the ancient days, and not very ancient either, that was conquered, and apparently cast away. One person of that race cried out : " If the fall of them be the riches of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but as life from the dead ? " If India's humiliation has been, in a very real sense, the riches of the world—for this has been the means of spreading India's thoughts in the most widely-spoken tongue of the world, to the North and South, East and West, all round the habitable globe—what shall it be for humanity when India herself in her new glory is born into the world ? India, from whose lips, in this land of the Rishis, came the religion that uplifts and spiritualises, the philosophy that illumines, and the science that trains ; India, from whose mind, throughout the world of mind, came those great systems of thought which are now recognised as the noblest products of the human intellect ; India, whose feet once passed through many States, and made every one of them fertile, prosperous, and wealthy ; India, who was perfect in spirit and mind ; when that India is born into the full vision of the eyes of men, perfect in body, is it too much to say that her coming will be as life

from the dead ? That is the glorious goal, for which we work ; that is the splendid hope, that cheers our labour ; that is the sublime aspiration, that rises perpetually to the ears of the Devas. For India's coming means the spiritualising of humanity ; India's thinking means the lifting of thought on to a higher level ; India's prosperity shall be the justification of religion, the justification of philosophy, as part of the life of a nation ; and the world shall be redeemed from materialism because India is awake.

THE INDIAN NATION.*

DEBATING Clubs among boys are very useful, not only as affording pleasant meetings and interesting discussions, but also as serving for training grounds for developing the knowledge and the qualities that are needed in public life. The discipline of mind and manners in such a club prepares the young debater for future service to his country, and accustoms him to the conditions under which much of his future work will be carried on. The rules which guide business meetings everywhere should be strictly followed in a Debating Club and should be regarded as aids to useful and expeditious discharge of business, and not as burdensome restrictions. To speak briefly, effectively, and to the point, to listen to an opponent's speech with patience and to reply with courtesy, are lessons learned in the Club. Looking forward for a few years you will see yourselves called on to help in administrative work on Municipal and District Boards, and other public bodies. There you will utilise the training you are now passing through, and a man who knows what he wants to say, who can put his views clearly and briefly, who can argue with courtesy, and who abides by the rules of discussion, is one who becomes on all such bodies, a man of weight and usefulness. You should

* An Address delivered to the Hindu College Boarders' Debating Club at the Anniversary Meeting of the C. H. C. Boarders' Debating Club.

place before you such active partaking in public life as an honourable and legitimate object of ambition, for the happiness, prosperity and health of the community depend far more on good local administration than on big so-called political measures. The true patriot can do far more for India in these local bodies, than he can in the field of "big politics" and this work is political in the good old sense of the term ; it is the politics of the community, and has far more bearing on the happiness of the community than the international relations discussed by statesmen. A people can prosper under a very bad government and suffer under a very good one, if in the first case the local administration is effective and in the second it is inefficient. Moreover, if a man wants to take a share in the chatter of Parliaments and the babel of party politics, he will be more useful and less mischievous if thoroughly well-trained in local administration. Mr. Chamberlain was a Councillor and a Mayor of Birmingham before he became a Cabinet Minister ; and Englishmen gain their knowledge of public business and their power of self-government by serving as honorary magistrates and local Councillors ; by working on vestries, on municipalities, on boards of all kinds. Here is a line of public activity for you as patriots, in which your love of country can find legitimate and useful vent, in which you can devote your best energies to the public good."

Moreover in this, and in other College and School business you have to learn both liberty and responsibility ; you elect officers, you make rules, you carry on your business. Now the sense of liberty is strong among you, and that is well. The sense of responsibility is weak, and that is not so well. The exercise of liberty

and the feeling of responsibility must grow side by side, if your little community is to be prosperous and well-organised. You must learn to use your best thought in giving votes, to be moved by principles, not by passions. Free men who act recklessly and without a sense of responsibility, destroy nations, they do not build them. You must learn tolerance, and understand that Truth is many-sided, and is never all with one man or one party. A man is fortunate if he sees one aspect of truth, and doubly fortunate, if through his opponents he can catch a glimpse of other aspects. In your debates and in your studies, when you read of other religions and other customs never condemn hastily, or denounce views that you do not share. Quick condemnation of all that is not ours, of views with which we disagree, of ideas that do not attract us, is the sign of a narrow mind, of an uncultivated intelligence. Bigotry is always ignorant, and the wise boy, who will become the wise man, tries to understand and to see the truth in ideas with which he does not agree.

We have listened to two thoughtful papers on the bonds which should unite Hindus. The writer of one speaks of Hindus as part of a nation, the other considers more the bonds which unite Hindus as a community within a nation. Let us consider both.

A Common Religion must ever be the strongest bond of union among the Hindus as a community, and, in order to make Hinduism a strong bond and not a disintegrating force, we must lay stress on what is ancient and universal, and ignore what is modern and local. The Sanatana Dharma Series will aid Hinduism as a unifying force, for it contains all that Hindus universally accept and leaves out sectarian beliefs. Every

boy educated on these lines will be a link of union in the Hindu community, helping to hold it together, and as these teachings spread through the Schools and Colleges strong bonds of union will be forged.

A Common Language is a bond of union, and Sanskrit and English serve as common languages between Hindus of North and South, of East and West. The Hindus of the North and South chant the Mantras in Sanskrit, and discuss business and public questions in English. Therefore Sanskrit should be taught in every English Department, and English in every Pathashala.

Among the various vernaculars that are spoken in different parts of India there is one that stands out strongly from the rest, as that which is most widely known. It is Hindi. A man who knows Hindi can travel over India and find everywhere Hindi-speaking people. In the North it is the vernacular of a great part of the people and a large additional part, who do not speak Hindi, speak languages so closely allied to it that Hindi is acquired without difficulty. Urdu is but Persianised Hindi; Panjabi and Gurumukhi are dialects of Hindi; Gujerati and Marathi are again dialects of Hindi. Bengali is softer and more poetical Hindi. It is true that when we travel South we come to languages derived from a Dravidian source and not from Sanskrit and here a real difficulty arises. But the South of India cannot afford to be cut off from the North, and the knowledge of Sanskrit in the South will make easy of acquirement its derivative Hindi, whereas Tamil and Telugu can never become universal in India. The learning of Hindi is a sacrifice that Southern India might well make to the unification of the Indian nation. Then Sanskrit will bind Hindus together in religion,

English in Imperial and official concerns, and Hindi in social and family life.

A Common Literature is another bond of union, and this all Hindus have in the Shruti, the Smriti, the Puranas, the Itihasa, the Philosophies and their commentaries; and the Drama.

This vast and splendid literature is the common heritage of all Hindus, of all sects, of all schools, and it forms one of the strongest bonds of union in the Hindu community.

A common Religion, a common Language, a common Literature; such are the bonds of union among Hindus, as Hindus.

And now, what of Hindus as part of a people? What of the Indian Nation?

The Indian Nation of the future must combine into one coherent and organised body, men of various faiths and men of various races, who in the past have been bitter enemies, and have striven against each other for many generations. Hindus and Mussulmans, Prasis and Christians—to say nothing of such well-marked inter-Hindu creeds as Jains and Sikhs—have to be welded into a nation, and this, not by mergence of all the varying beliefs into one, which is impossible, but by the Theosophical recognition of the spiritual unity of all religions, and the broad-minded tolerance and mutual respect which grow out of this recognition. The warring races have to be welded into a nation by turning the memories of strife into memories of common pride.

A common religion is not possible for India, but a recognition of a common basis for all religions, and the growth of a liberal tolerant spirit in religious

matters, are possible. It is this liberal tolerant spirit which makes nationality possible in western countries ; Christianity is divided into many more sects than is Hinduism, in addition to the deep lines of cleavage that divide Roman Catholics from Protestants. But these do not interfere with Patriotism. In England, France and Germany, large numbers of men are unbelievers, but they are none the less good patriots. The bitter religious antagonisms of Italy have not prevented the building of united Italy. Nor need religious differences in India check the building of an Indian nation, if men of all creeds will sink their religious hatreds, and recognize that the God they all worship is the God of Humanity and not a tribal or national Deity.

But while a common religion is impossible, common Languages and a common Literature are possible. For the Muhammadan, Arabic will take the place of Sanskrit, but English is as necessary to him as to the Hindu, and Hindi is his Urdu, stripped of Persian derivatives and written in a different script. In literature he can as heartily enjoy Hindu masterpieces as the Hindu can delight in those born of Islam. Both belong to the Indian Nation, and form its common literature.

Geography has a determining influence on nationality, for two nations cannot co-exist on the same soil. A nation must have its national territory, and we cannot have a Hindu nation, and a Mussulman nation, in India, we must have one Indian Nation from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from Bengal to Kathiawar. Now such a Nation has never yet existed, and "India" always has been, and still is, a mere geographical expression. Old India was divided into many States.

large and small, and though occasionally in ancient days, an Emperor would be recognised and all the Kings become his Feudatories, such an Emperor ruled by force of his own great personality, and no one Empire endured, and passed from Ruler to Ruler for generations. Hence India is yet to be made a living reality, an organised entity, and you, the students of to-day with tens of thousands of your like throughout the land, you are to be the builders of India, and from your hands she will emerge—a Nation. Let us look around, and take lessons in nation-building, and then you will see that turning Indian communities and races into a Nation is by no means an impossible thing.

There are three European Nations that may help us—the British, the German, the Italian, and the German most of all. Look at Great Britain. Her people are Kelts, Saxons, Danes, Normans and their ancestors warred and slaughtered each other for centuries. Scotland and England were hereditary foes and a deep river of blood divided them more than the river Tweed. They were united under one crown just three hundred years ago, after sixteen hundred years of warfare, yet to-day, Englishmen are as proud of Bruce and Wallace as are Scotsmen and Scotsmen are as proud of Chaucer and Shakespeare as are Englishmen, and both are equally lovers of Britain. Ireland is not yet fused into the Nation, for the grass is green over Emmett's grave only a century, and race and religion still divide. There the Nation still is building, is not yet built.

Italy has swiftly grown into a Nation, largely because of the magic of the great name of Rome and her old-world rule ; she has become a Nation through the lifetime of many of us, and one of the memories of my

childhood is the heroic figure of Garibaldi amid the surging, cheering crowds of London folk.

Germany has been made into a Nation before our very eyes, and is full of stirring national life and intense patriotic feeling, and Germany is specially instructive for us, because there we see two religions, one in name, but bitterly antagonistic in fact, facing each other, the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran, separated by memories of axe and fire, of cruelties more terrible than, and as recent as, the memories of hatred between Hindus and Mussulmans here. Yet now both Lutheran and Roman Catholics are brother citizens of Empire, and are Germans above all. The German Nation is a fact, and it was born before our eyes.

How did Italy, how did Germany become Nations? By Sentiment. That may strike you as strange and yet it is not strange if you remember that thought is the one creative power. There was no Italy. There was no Germany. But poets sang of the Fatherland, authors wrote of the Fatherland, and at last they sang the Nation into birth, they sang the Dream into the Fact.

How shall the Indian Nation be born? By Sentiment also. A feeling is beginning to pervade her races that India is the Motherland, and the Indian Nation is already a Dream, an Ideal. She exists already in the world of Ideas; she will pass, she is passing into the world of discussion; and thence she will be born into the world of Facts. This is the Law. This is the Path. First the Idea, then the Popularisation, then the Fact.

How shall we smooth the path for her coming feet? We must make the history of India a common history, looking on all her great men as a common glory, on all her heroes as a common heritage. Hindus must learn

to be proud of Akbar, Mussulmans of Shivaji. The history must lose its bitterness as of foe against foe, and become the story of the common Motherland in the making, all parties contributing to the enrichment, and sharing in the results. The sense of having been conquered in a battle must pass, and the battle be regarded merely as an event that went to the shaping of the nation. Courage, vigour, strength, virility, these are the sweet fruit of war, grievous and terrible in the sowing ; and these remain alike to conquerors and to conquered, when once the sense of personal triumph has faded out of the one, and that of personal loss out of the other. Ours is the task, so to teach history as to show the use of the struggles in India, as to eradicate proud and injured feeling. Thus shall separateness and hatred pass, and patriotism and love grow up. As boys struggle hard in a match, one side against the other, and afterwards forget the struggle and the bruises received, and use the strength and skill thus obtained in the team which represents the whole College, so must Indians forget the antagonism of the war games of the past, and let the wounds be only honourable scars, while they use their strength and skill for the Nation.

It may be said : " But if this is so, why not educate together the boys of different faiths, why have a Hindu College at Benares, a Muslim College at Aligarh ?" Because, such separate education is the best for building a religious and a moral character, and such characters, once moulded, will live together in peace and mutual respect in manhood. During the plastic years of boyhood it is best to mould and shape the character after its own type, to make the Mussulman boy a good Mussulman, the Hindu boy a good Hindu. When they are firm in their

respective religions, they can mix together as men, and gain, not lose by the contact. Only they must be taught a broad and liberal tolerance as well as an enlightened love for their own religion, so that each may remain Hindu or Mussulman, but both be Indians.

Just as stones are shaped and fitted, and then built into their respective places in an edifice, so must these boys be shaped and fitted by their several religions to be built into the Indian Nation. Let us then, hold up as an Ideal the Indian Motherland, the Indian Nation ; let us popularise the Idea, till the heart of each province throbs in unison ; then let her descend into the world of Facts ; let the Indian Nation be born.

THE ARYAN TYPE.*

CHARACTER lies at the root of outward conduct as well as at the root of inner aspirations, and the nations of the world have all their characters, the groundwork of the national type. These types, taken together, form the Humanity of the age, and constitute its various elements ; and in judging the outer social form of any people, it is necessary to understand it as being an expression of national character, slowly moulded from within.

The primary Aryan type was of a distinctly marked character, and the feeble remnants that remain of that glorious type bear witness even yet to something of its beauty and its grace. It was a type pre-eminently spiritual, and the social polity that was its natural expression was moulded to give effect to spiritual ideas and to subordinate the lower nature to the higher, so that the nation might be a school of Souls, and the growth and development of the Soul might be on every hand aided and encouraged. From this past it has resulted that India even in her present low estate, despite the loss of spiritual life and the almost entire extinction of spiritual fire, yet remains the one country in the world where to put the Soul first, high above all material interests, is not regarded as madness, the one country where spirituality still hovers in the very atmosphere, and where

* From the *Arya Bala Bodhini*, March 1895.

external surroundings help the Soul to rise instead of fettering it to earth.

But apart from its lofty spirituality, there is another aspect of the Aryan life which at the present time is of pressing importance—the Aryan type was one of unbending rectitude, of high morality, and those who would fain see Aryan spirituality again lift its head in the future, will do well to turn their attention now to Aryan virtues, and to try and revive these in the life of the householder.

Out of the spirituality grew reverence to parents, teachers, and elders. Reverence to the Gods translated itself in the family and social life into reverence for the parents, who gave and nourished the physical life ; for the teacher, who gave and nourished the inner life—the second birth ; for the aged, whose ripe wisdom served as guide, and who handed on the ancient traditions. The boy was trained to be reverent, and ill prognostic is it for the future when Indian youths lose the noble reverence for their ancestors and copy the flippant and silly uppishness of western lads.

From reverence sprang courtesy, respecting others and self-respecting, the gracious courtesy which has stamped itself on the bearing of all classes, and even yet serves as pattern of the manners that "are not idle," and that make the wheels of life run smoothly. Then came hospitality, the guest to be honoured as a God, hospitality free-handed and generous-minded, a duty ungrudgingly done. And its sister, charity, so that none might starve while others had enough, not yielded as a legal dole but given gladly, for the householder was the steward of the nation and none of the nation's children must go unfed. Reverence, courtesy,

hospitality, charity, these were the social virtues of Aryan householder, that rendered him so gracious a type.

But these would not have availed to build the Aryan character, lovely as they are, had there not been laid as foundation the bedrock of Truth. Never might Aryan utter lie ; never might Aryan lips be stained with falsehood. Rigid fidelity to the pledged word, undeviating accuracy, these were taught by sacred precept, by lofty example, and this supreme virtue of Truth—without which all else must wither and perish—so wrought itself into the life of the nation that, even now, some Indian methods remind us of a time when an Aryan's word was his bond. Alas ! that it cannot so be said to-day of Aryavarta's degenerate sons, and that in some parts of India untruthfulness seems likely to become as characteristic as truthfulness once was. Would that every Aryan boy would make a vow in his heart to keep Truth unstained, for he would, by thus keeping Truth, do more to serve the nation than if he shone out as a brilliant light in the scholastic, legal or political worlds.

Courage walks hand in hand with Truth, and fearlessness was a distinguishing characteristic of the Aryan type. Fearlessness that has tenderness for its other aspect, for only those who hurt none, need fear none. Pain inflicted is a prophecy of future pain to be endured, for the Great Law swings unerringly, and to every act of wrong brings its meed of pain. Therefore is harmlessness the highest Dharma, and therefore read we of "the fearless Brahman." If India is again to hold up her head among nations, India's younger children must begin to lay the foundation in their own lives of the Aryan type of character. The virtues that I have mentioned were its most pronounced attributes, and the revival of these

among the Aryan youth would presage the re-building of the nation. "Character makes destiny," and Indian destiny depends on Indian character. Here is work for the young whose hearts burn with love for the Mother-land, for on the altar of pure morality alone can fall the fire from Heaven which changes the fuel of aspiration into spiritual flame.

ENGLAND AND INDIA.*

THE relations between conquering nations and subject peoples form a question of the present day which may well tax the thought of the most thoughtful, as well as stir the feelings of the most sensitive. How these relations should be carried on, how both conquering nation and subject people may profit by the links that arise between them—on the answer to that problem depends much of the future progress of the world : and I have thought that with the traditions that are associated with the name of South Place I might well take up before you this morning the relations which exist between one of the greatest of conquering nations and the greatest of subject peoples, and see how far it is possible to lay down certain lines of thought, which may possibly be of help to you in your own thinking, which may possibly suggest to you ideas which, perchance, otherwise might not have come in your way.

Now, every two nations that come into touch the one with the other should, it is very clear, each have something to learn, each have something to teach, and this is perhaps pre-eminently the case where two such nations as India and England are concerned. Where England has to do with savage peoples her path is comparatively simple ; where she has to do with a nation far older than her own civilisation, a nation with fixed and most

* A lecture delivered in 1902 in the South Place Chapel Finsbury.

ancient traditions, a nation that was enjoying a high state of civilisation long ere the seed of western civilisation was sown—where she has to do with such a people, the relations must needs be complicated and difficult, difficult for both sides to understand, difficult for both sides to make fruitful of good rather than of evil. And I know of no greater service that can be rendered either in this land or in that, than the service of those who try to understand the question and to draw the nations closer together by wisdom, instead of driving them further apart by ignorance and by prejudice.

Now it seems to me that with regard to India, the subject may fall quite naturally under three heads ; first, the head of religion ; then, of education ; and then, of political relations, under which latter I include the social conditions of the people. Let me try, then, under these three headings to suggest to you certain ideas as to English relations with India, which may possibly hereafter bear fruit in your minds, if they be worthy to do so.

I said that, when two nations come together, each has something to teach and something to learn, and that is true. So far as religion is concerned, I think India has more to teach than she has to learn. So far as education is concerned, much has to be done on both sides, but on the whole, in most respects, England has more to teach there than to learn. With regard to political conditions, there both nations have much to learn in mutual understanding and in adaptation to this old civilisation of India, of methods of thought, of rule, of social conditions utterly alien from her own conditions, so that changes, if it be wise to introduce them, must be brought about with the greatest care, the greatest delicacy, after the longest and most careful consideration.

I. Let us take, then, first, *the question of religion*, on which I submit to you that India has more to teach than she has to learn ; and I say that for this reason, that almost everything which can be learned from Christianity exists also in the eastern faiths, and you have with regard to this to remember, that in India you are dealing with a people of various faiths and many schools of thought, some of them exceedingly ancient, deeply philosophic, as well as highly spiritual. Now, seventy per cent. of the population of India are Hindus, and belong to one great religion, which includes under that name an immense variety of philosophic schools and sects. For, when we speak of Hinduism, we are not speaking of what you might call a simple religion, such as is modern Christianity, though even there you have divisions enough, but of a religion which has always encouraged to the fullest extent the freedom of the intellect, and which recognises nothing as heresy which the intellect of man can grasp, which the thought of man can formulate. You have under that general name the greatest diversity of thought, and always Hinduism has encouraged that diversity, has not endeavoured to check it. Hinduism is very, very strict in its social polity ; it is marvellously wide in its theological, its ethical, its philosophical thought. It includes even on one side the Charvaka system, the most complete atheism, as it would here be called ; while it includes on the other, forms of the most popular religious thinking that it is possible to conceive. The intellect, then, has ever been free under the sceptre of the religion which embraces seventy per cent. of the great Indian population.

The majority of the remaining thirty per cent. are followers of the great Prophet of Arabia, Muhammad,

and amongst them to-day there are great signs of awakening of thought, there are great signs of revival of deeper philosophical belief. While the majority of them still are, I was almost going to say, plunged in religious bigotry, from western and from eastern standpoints, rather repeating a creed than understanding a philosophy, there is none the less at the present day a very considerable awakening, and a hope that the great faith of Islam may stand higher in the eyes of the world by knowledge and by power than it has done for many a hundred years in the past. Then, in addition to these—Hinduism with its seventy per cent. and the faith of Islam, which counts some fifty millions of the population—you have Christianity, imported, of course, from the West, not touching the higher classes of the Hindus at all, but having a considerable following, especially in the South, among the most superstitious people ; you have the Parsi community a thoughtful, learned and wealthy community, though a very small one, only numbering, I think, some eighty thousand people ; you have the Jain community, also very wealthy, and having among it a certain number of very learned men, a community whose rites go back to the very early days of Hindu thought and Hindu civilisation ; and you have in addition to these the warrior nation of the Sikhs, bound together by their devotion to their great Prophets, and forming to-day a most important part of the fighting strength of the English Empire in India. Buddhism has scarcely any power in India proper. It rules in Burma, and it rules in Ceylon, both, of course, forming part of the Indian Empire, but in India proper it is practically non-existent.

In this way, then, you have a country, including

Burma and Ceylon, in which you have clearly marked out some seven different faiths, and you have a ruling nation, Christian in its theory, and entirely unsectarian so far as its rule over the people is concerned ; but inevitably under the shadow of that conquering nation there grows up an immense missionary propaganda in India, which is strong, not by its learning, not by the spirituality of its missionaries, but simply from the fact that they belong to the conquering, to the ruling, people, and so have behind them, in the mind of the great mass of the Indians, the weight which comes from the authority of the English Empire, as you may say, backing that particular form of faith. Now it is this condition that you want to understand, if you would deal fairly with the religious question in India. The most utter impartiality is the rule of the Government, but it is that simple impartiality which may be said to take up the position that all religions are equally indifferent. This is not the kind of spirit that is wanted in a country where religion is the strongest force in life. You need a sympathetic impartiality, not an impartiality of indifference ; and it is that in which so far the Government has naturally very largely failed. You want in India at the present time a definite recognition of the fact that the religions that are there, and that rule the hearts of the great mass of the people and the minds of the most thoughtful and learned of the nation—that these religions are worthy of the highest respect, and not of mere toleration. You have to realise that the missionary efforts there do an infinity of harm and very little good ; that they set religion against religion and faith against faith ; whereas what you want in India is the brotherhood of religions, and

the respect of men of every faith for the faiths which are not theirs. You need there the teaching and the spirit of Theosophy, which sees every religion as the partial expression of one great truth. The more aggressive one faith shows itself to be, the more it is stirring up religious antagonisms and religious hatreds. Danger to the Empire lies in the aggressive policy of Christianity, whereby large numbers of men, ignorant of the religions that they attack, treat them with contempt, with scorn, with insult—that is one of the dangers that you have to consider in India, when you remember that in the minds of the people England stands behind the missionary. The Christian missionary converts very, very rarely, only in the most exceptional of cases, any man who is educated, any man who is trained in his own faith, any man of what are called the higher and thoughtful castes. He makes his converts among the great mass of the most ignorant of the population; he makes them chiefly in times of famine and of distress; he makes them more largely for social reasons than for reasons which are religious in their nature. By the folly of the Hindus themselves vast masses of the Indians have been left without religious teachings, altogether, have been regarded with contempt, have been looked upon with arrogance. It is among these classes that the Christian missionaries find their converts. Once such a man is converted to Christianity, he, who before was not allowed to cross the threshold of a Hindu, is admissible as a Christian into the house because Christianity is the religion of the conquering nation; and you can very well recognise how strong a converting power that has on the ignorant, on the degraded, on the socially oppressed. It is not necessary

for me to say much on that here, since here nothing much can be done in this matter. It is rather in India that one tries to meet that question, pointing out to the educated and the religious how great a danger to their own faith, as well as how great a wrong to humanity, it is to neglect vast portions of the population, and so to drive them as it were to find refuge in an alien creed, which at least treats them with decency, if it cannot do much for them in ethical training.

This religious question in India is one that you need to understand, for eastern teaching is everywhere more and more spreading in the West. I could not help being amused the other day by a remark of a disconsolate missionary coming back to America, and declaring that while he was striving to convert people from Hinduism, he found on his return that large numbers of the educated were tainted with the philosophy that in India he was trying to destroy. That is perfectly true. Hindu thought is making its way here in general very much more rapidly than Christianity is making its way in India ; and it is touching the flower of the population here, whereas Christianity is only touching the poorest and most ignorant in India. That is why I said that India had much more to teach than to learn in matters of religion ; she has plenty in her own faith which can train and cultivate the masses of her people, but that must be done by Hindu missionaries and not by Christian missionaries. It would be the wisdom of England to look upon all these religions as methods of training, of guiding, of helping the people, and to recognise that the work of the Christian in India is among his own population, is among his own countrymen, is among the

Christian communities, and that he should look on his faith as a sister faith among many, and not as unique, to which people of other religions are to be converted. The greatest, perhaps the only serious, danger to English rule in India lies in the religious question, in the bad feelings stirred up by the missionaries, in the difficulties that are caused by their lack of understanding of the people. Theosophy has done much to counteract this danger, and has been striving in India to stimulate the peoples of the various faiths to take up these religious questions for themselves, and by their energy in the teaching of their own religion to cause the spread of religious knowledge which may make each faith strong within its own borders.

II. Pass from the religious question to *the educational*, and here a great danger lies immediately in front, a danger which arises largely out of that want of sympathy and that want of understanding which is the chief fault of the English people as a conquering nation, as a ruler in their relations with subject peoples. They try to be just, they try to do their duty, they are industrious, they are hard-working, endeavouring to do the work which is put into their hands. Their weak point lies in the fact that they are very unsympathetic, that they cannot put themselves into the place of others, and they have a tendency to think they are so immensely superior to others that whatever is good for them is good for everybody else ; they fail to understand the traditions and the customs which must exist in an ancient people, a people of high and complicated civilisation, and this lack of sympathy has a very great bearing on the question of education. Practically, Indian education, on the higher line, was started by the wisdom of Lord Macaulay. He

began the work of Indian education, and he began it wisely and well. It has been carried on year after year by a long succession of Viceroys, who for the most part have done well with regard to the educational question ; but while they have done well, it is perfectly true that there are great and serious faults in the Indian system, faults which need to be corrected and which neutralise much of the value of the education that is given. I have not time to go very fully into these faults ; it must suffice to say that memory has been cultivated to the exclusion of the reasoning faculty, and that even when science has been taught, it has been taught by the text-book, and not in the laboratory, it has been taught by memory, and not by experiment. In addition to that there has been a crushing number of examinations, forcing the whole life of the boy as well as of the man, and keeping up a continual strain which has exhausted the pupil ere he has left the University. It has been forgotten that the Indian student is naturally studious and not playful enough, that his inclination is to work a great deal too hard, that what was wanted was the stimulation to play more than the stimulation to study, that the physical training of the boys was more necessary to be seen to than the intellectual training. The physical training was left out of sight, and though carefully looked after in ancient India it was now neglected. As these differences were overlooked, everything was done to force the intellectual side in an unwise way, by cramming rather than by organic development of study, and, as the University degrees were made the only passport to Government employment and to the professions at large, it became a wild desire on the part of the Indian parent to force his boys on as rapidly as possible, with little

regard to the kind of education that was given. These faults have been seen by the present Viceroy, and eager to mend the faults, he sent out a University Commission, which has just made its report. Now the first fault of that Commission was that it had only two representatives of India on it, and the rest Englishmen, and the English members of that Commission were not all acquainted with the nature of the problems of Indian education. They have issued their Report. The Indian judge, who was the Hindu member of that Commission, has issued a minority report, against many of the recommendations made by the majority, consisting of the English members and one Mussulman. The very fact that you get a report divided in that racial way ought at once to make our Rulers pause, and when you find that many of the recommendations of the majority-report are disapproved by the representative of seventy per cent. of the population that you are going to teach, it seems as though it might be wise if the Government here would look into the matter a little carefully before it gives its decision. For it is the view of the Indian people, now being expressed in every way possible, that the report of the Commission strikes a heavy blow at Indian education that much of the great work of the past will be destroyed, and that the education of the future will be placed beyond the reach of large numbers of the people who hereditarily claim it.

To begin with, the education is now made more costly, and by that one word you have its condemnation for India. The fees are everywhere to be raised, so that University education will be practically beyond the reach of those who need it most. It is said that many go to the University who are not fit for it ; but the remedy for

that is to improve the teaching in your Universities, and not to increase the cost of the education ; for by high fees you will not exclude the idle and the unworthy rich, but you will exclude great masses of the worthy and industrious poor ; and when you remember that it is the Indian tradition that learning and poverty go together, that the man who is learned has no need of wealth, that you find the highest caste the poorest caste, although the most learned—if you could realise that and put yourself in their place, you would understand the agitation which at present is convulsing the most thoughtful people in India, when they see that the Government is going to exclude their sons, the flower of the intellectual population, from all share in education by the high fees which it is going to impose. It is said by the Commission, that scholarships may serve for the poorer classes, but you cannot give scholarships to thousands of that vast population. You can give scholarships to a boy here and there but you cannot give them to the great mass ; the greatest danger is the discontent of the thoughtful, and that is the discontent which is being stirred up at the present time. The truth is, that Lord Curzon, able as he is, has only five years in which to rule, and he is eager to mark his Viceroyalty by some great scheme of change. But if England be not careful, it will be marked by the saddest monument that ever a Viceroy has left behind him, the destruction of the education of a great people, and the shutting out of vast masses of the intellectual from education whereby they might rise to be your helpers in the ruling of their country, but shut out from which they become an element of danger. That is not a thing which it is well to have said by a subject nation of the type of the Indian nation. It is said among the

thoughtful people now that this is intended to destroy education, in order that Indians may not have their fair share in the government of their own land. That is the thought which is spreading, that is the motive which they believe lies behind the policy of Lord Curzon. They think he desires to stop education, in order that the Indians may not rise to the higher posts in their own country, and that is a most dangerous idea to spread through the most intellectual, through the most thoughtful classes. I have had letter after letter pleading with me to do something here to prevent this Report from receiving the sanction of the Government ; but how difficult is it to do that where the people who give the decision are ignorant themselves, and where they naturally rely on their own agents rather than on what any casual speaker may say.

In the attempt started by the Theosophical Society in India, and carried on by large numbers of the Hindus themselves, to build up a large Hindu College, we are trying to do the very opposite of some of the things that are being suggested to the Government, and are already doing some of the things they want done. We have put down the fees to the lowest possible point ; we are training the lads in the laboratory ; we give them less and less instruction in which memory only is cultivated, and in which the reasoning faculties are thrown entirely on one side. We are teaching them to play games ; we are training strong and healthy bodies, and are endeavouring to prevent the great nervous strain involved in study. But if this Commission Report be adopted, much of our work will be destroyed, and the results which we are trying to bring about, and have brought about to some extent, will be utterly wasted, will be impossible

to carry on; for the boys that we want to reach, the intelligent, the eager, those who are longing to learn but whose parents are poor, they will be shut utterly out from education, for unless we adopt the Government rate of fees, the Government may close the College and not permit it to carry on its work. That is the kind of difficulty that has to be dealt with in these educational measures. If you would let Indians guide their own education, if you would give them all that is best in the West, when it is suitable, but not insist that all that is good in England is necessarily good there; if you would try to see things from their own standpoint, if you did not insist on highly paid Englishmen as instructors, instead of educated Indians, you would work at less expense and with more efficiency.

But what is there to be done, when the Government here has the last word, and knows nothing about the conditions; and when the data on which the decisions are made are sent from India by those who are apart from Indian sympathy, data on which the Indians are not consulted, although it is their children whose future is in jeopardy. What is really needed is to make education cheap, wide-spread, scientific, literary and technical; to change the policy which draws the intelligent Indians only into Government service, and to get them to take up the other lines of work which affect the economic future of their country; to educate them in arts and manufactures; not to leave the direction of industry to people who are of the ruling nation, but to draft into industrial undertakings large members of the educational classes—that is the kind of education that is wanted, and the kind of education that England does not give to India, and will not let India give to herself.

III. Pass from that to the third point I spoke of—the *questions touching on politics*, including the social and economic conditions of India. It must have struck you, those who have studied the past, that it is very strange that this country—which when the East India Company went there in the 18th century, was one of the richest countries of the world—has now become a country to go a-begging to the world for the mere food to keep its vast population from dying of starvation by millions. The mere fact that there has been such a change in the wealth of the country should surely make those who are responsible for its rule look more closely into the economic conditions, should surely suggest that there is something fundamentally wrong when you have these recurring famines. Six years of famine, practically, India has lately passed through. It is not due to changes of climate ; these have always been there—seasons of drought, seasons of too much rain, seasons of good weather. These are not surely the direct result of English rule. They existed long before England came ; they are likely to exist long after we have all passed away. Why is it that these famines recur time after time ? Why is it that such myriads of people are thus doomed to starvation ? Now I have not a word to say as to the efforts that are made by the English when the famine is there, save words of praise. The English officials worked themselves half to death, when the people were dying. But that is not the time when the work is most needed. It is prevention that we want, rather than cure ; and the nation that can only deal with famine by relief-works and by charity is not a nation that in the eyes of the world can justify its authority in India. There must be causes that

underlie these famines. It is the duty of the ruling nation to understand these causes, or else to allow the wisest among the Indian population to take these questions into their own hands and act as the Council of the English rulers. Sometimes it is said that the famine is owing to the increase in the population. That is not true. What is called the peace of Britain is not a blessing, if it be the cause of famine. It is easier to the great mass of the people to have wars that kill off some of them quickly, than to have recurring famines that starve them to death after months of agony. The British peace is not a blessing, if it be punctuated by famines in which millions die by starvation. Peace is not a blessing if it kills more people than war, and that is what the peace of England is doing in India, and it is killing them after terrible sufferings, instead of by sword and by fire. It is *the cause* of these famines that we need to understand. It is a remarkable fact that, where the Indian princes have been left uninterfered with, the famines have not been so serious. Everywhere, where a nation lives by agriculture and has to prepare itself for a bad season, it is usual to find out a way of dealing with the natural difficulties suitable to its own spirit. Now that was done in India, and done in a very simple way, although a way that is dead against the modern "political economy." The way was a simple way, as in the days of ancient Egypt. We have all read of how when Joseph was the wise minister there, he provided for the years of famine in the years of plenty. That one sentence expresses the Indian way of dealing with famines. When there was plenty, large quantities of the food were stored, and rent and taxes were taken in

food ; these varied with the food raised by the people, and therefore they never pressed heavily on the people. When there was much raised the rent and taxes were higher ; when the harvest was bad, the King went without his share. But in the years when he got a very large share, he stored it in granaries. In addition to that, after the people were fed (and the feeding of the people was the first charge), the people themselves stored the year's corn, so that if they had a bad year they could fall back on their own corn. In this way the peasant could make head against one bad season, and if there were more than one bad season the prince came to his aid, by throwing his corn on the market at a price which the people could afford to pay. Now that method of dealing with the famine problem still goes on in some States, such as Kashmir, because they will not permit their grain to be exported. But the greatest pressure is continually being put on the Maharaja of Kashmir to force him to export his rice. He has been able to hold his own so far, but the resistance to English pressure is a terribly difficult thing for an Indian prince, and to resist it continually is not possible. Now I know how alien to English thought is that method of dealing with the products of a country ; but it is far better to carry that on and save the people from famine, than to insist that the people shall sell their corn in years of plenty and starve in years of scarcity. The people want to store their corn when they have it, to keep it against the bad seasons, instead of having to import it from abroad in time of famine. And yet, in this very year when famine was threatened, I saw not long ago in a newspaper a telegram advising the recurrence of famine in one part of India, and, in the

same paper that contained that telegram, I saw a statement that the first shiploads of Indian wheat had left Bombay. That may be modern political economy, but it is pure idiocy. India if wisely governed may be a paradise, but we have just read that with five fools you can turn a paradise into a hell ; and to impose English political economy on India is folly, well-intentioned folly, but folly none the less.

Another great cause of these famines is the way in which the land is now held. In the old days there was a common interest in the land between princes and people. Now the nobles, the old class of zemindars, have been turned into landlords, and that is a very different thing from the old way of holding land. Then you have insisted on giving to the peasant the right to sell his land, the very last thing that he wants to do, the thing which takes away from him the certainty of food for himself and his children. No peasant in the old days had the right to sell his land, but only to cultivate it. If he needed to borrow at any time, he borrowed on the crop. Now, in order to free the people from debt, they are given the right to sell their mortgaged holdings, and this means the throwing out of an agricultural people on the roads, making them landless, and the holding of the land by money-lenders. That revolution in the land-system of India is one of the causes of the recurring famines, the second perhaps of the great causes. The natural result of it is that you put now power into the hands of the money-lender, and you take away from the peasant the shield that always protected him.

The railway system, too, useful as it is, has done an immense amount of harm. It has cleared away the food ; it has sent the man with money into the country

districts to buy up the produce, which he sends abroad, giving the peasant the rupees that he cannot eat, instead of the rice and corn that he can eat.

Even when I first went to India, you could hardly see a peasant woman without silver bangles on her arms and legs. Now large numbers of peasant women wear none ; these have been sold during these last years of famine, and to sell these is the last sign of poverty for the Indian peasantry. It is no good giving them money in exchange for their food. They do not know how to deal with it. They are urged to buy English goods of Manchester manufacture, which wear out in a few months, instead of the Indian-made articles which last for many years. You must remember that the Indian peasant washes his clothes every day of his life, and so they need to be of great durability.

Another difficulty is the way in which you have destroyed the manufactures of India—destroyed them partly by flooding the market with cheap, showy, adulterated goods, which have attracted the ignorant people, inducing them to buy what is largely worthless. All the finer manufactures of India are practically destroyed, whereas the makers used to grow rich by selling these to her wealthy men and to foreign countries. Now both the fine and coarse goods are beaten out of the country by the cheap Manchester goods, and the dear fashionable fabrics ; even if this had been done fairly it would not be so bad, but the Indian merchants were forced to give up their trade secrets to the agents of English industries. You guard your trade secrets jealously from rivals, but you have forced the Indians to give up theirs, in order that English manufacturers might have the benefit of that knowledge. In this way

old trades have been gradually killed out, while the arts of India are very rapidly perishing. The arts of India depended on the social condition of the country. The artist in India was not a man who lived by competition. As far as he was concerned he did not trade at all. He was always kept as part of the great household of a noble ; his board, his lodging, his clothing, were all secured to him, and he worked at his leisure, and carried out his artistic ideas without difficulty and without struggle. All that class is being killed out in the stress of western competition, and it is not as though something else were put in its place ; the thing itself is destroyed, the whole market is destroyed. Now the pressure is falling on the artisan, and he is utterly unable to guard himself against it, and is falling back into the already well-filled agricultural ranks.

These are some of the questions that you have to consider and to understand. You have to understand the question of Indian taxation ; you have to understand the question of taking away from India seventy millions a year to meet " Home," *i.e.*, English, charges. You have to consider the expense of your Government in India, the exorbitant salaries that are paid to English officials. You have to realise the financial side of the problem, as well as those that I have dealt with.

Friends, I have only been able to touch the fringe of a great subject. I have hoped, by packing together a number of these facts, to stir you into study rather than to convince you. For if I had tried to move your feelings I would have done little. I have preferred to point out the difficulties that have to be dealt with, so that you may study them, so that you may investigate them, so that you may form your own opinions upon them. I

do not believe it is possible to do everything at once, but I do think it might be possible to form a band of English experts, who should have weight with the Government over here which deals with India, so that they could advise with wisdom, so that they could point out the most useful path by which improvement could be made. To govern a great country like India by a Parliament over here is practically impossible. It is too clumsy an instrument for the ruling of such a people. But if you would build up in India a great Council, composed of the wisest and most thoughtful of her own people ; if you would take the advice of her best administrators in Indian States, her own sons ; if you would place in such a Council her greatest feudatory Chiefs ; if such a Council of all that is wisest and noblest in India were gathered round the Viceroy, who should hold his post, not as the reward for political service here, but because he knows and understands India, or, still better, appoint as Viceroy a Prince of the Imperial House ; if you would leave him there for a greater space of time, and not make him work in a break-neck hurry to get something done ; then there would be a brighter hope on the Indian horizon. This can only be done by understanding Indian feelings and not by ignoring them, by trying to sympathise with Indian customs and not by despising them. Along these lines lies the salvation of India and of England alike, and it is this which I recommend to your most thoughtful consideration.

UNREST IN INDIA.*

THE change that has come over India during late years is obvious to every onlooker, and it expresses itself in the uneasiness, the discontent, the aspiration which have been summed up in the general word Unrest. It may be useful to analyse this unrest into its constituent factors, to see which of its causes are remediable, and which are beyond our reach, which are on the way of progress and which on the way of destruction. For unless we can see what ought to be done and what can be done, which forces are constructive and should therefore be strengthened, which make for disintegration and therefore ought to be neutralised, how shall we know what to seek and what to avoid?

First, we must distinguish broadly, as Lord Minto was the first to do, between the unrest which is patriotic, legitimate and righteous, which seeks to draw attention to real grievances, and which aims at improvement in sober constitutional ways, and the unrest which is cosmopolitan and criminal, which hates all forms of government, which disdains all pacific means to betterment, and uses assassination, terrorism, dacoity and vituperative language inciting to violence as its weapons. This last party is a small one numerically, but is dangerous from the fact that it consists of young men, very young for the most part, who are prepared to

* A series of articles in the *Christian Commonwealth*, 1911.

throw away their lives at the command of leaders who are themselves safely ensconced outside India, and who thrust them into perils that they themselves do not share. Their aim is simple and childish in its ignorance : to drive the British Government out of India, not by open revolt but by terrorism : knowing that the English are an inappreciable minority among the millions of Indians, they hope by sporadic assassinations to show that no Englishman or Englishwoman is safe ; they choose for assassination men who are popular and who are known to be sympathetic with Indians, in order to show that no nobility of life can shield; they carry on a campaign of unscrupulous misrepresentation and calumny, and they plunder their own countrymen in order to obtain funds for their nefarious enterprises. Their success, were it thinkable, would mean anarchy for a brief period, then a welter of civil wars, in which the East and South of India would be over-run by the West and North; then a re-conquest by Great Britain, in which a majority of the swords of India would offer themselves to her as in earlier days, to escape the dominance of the Indian State which had risen momentarily to the top. The Anarchists forget many things, or perhaps have not studied either past or contemporary history. They forget that the English, both men and women, are more aroused than terrified by threats and by danger. They forget that the vast population of India, especially the villagers, constantly show preference for the English official over the Indian, because the ordinary Englishman is more considerate of the poor, more ready to work to relieve distress than is the ordinary Indian; in the relief of famine the chief difficulties arise from the lower class Indian employees—not the educated Indians, who

work most nobly to relieve the suffering; the complaints of torture by the Police are accusations against Indians; in the administration of justice the Englishman judges fairly between Indian and Indian where the Indian is swamped by a thousand influences of kindred, caste prejudices, local customs ; all this is known to and remembered by the educated Indians and I am only repeating above what I have heard them say over and over again as to the substantial value of British rule. The Anarchists also forget that British India is only part of India and that the Great Feudatory States will have none of them. The great Indian Chiefs crush out sedition with a vigour and promptitude that British officials cannot rival and give the Anarchist short shrift. The Anarchist much prefers British justice to Indian justice, and if he could get rid of the British there would be but little delay in getting rid of him on the part of his countrymen. The whole criminal crusade of the Anarchists is condemned by one obvious fact—that the English could not rule India except by Indian consent, and the Anarchists are rebels against their own countrymen; they are a microscopic minority, trying to force their own tyranny on a disgusted country ; they took advantage of legitimate unrest to start a propaganda of hatred and murder and had not even the satisfaction—thanks to Lord Minto—of delaying the reforms that are the first instalment of the redress of real grievances and which have already drawn the teeth of the common enemy.

They have succeeded to some extent in restricting the liberties before enjoyed in India, but the "Seditious Meetings and Press Acts" are endured without much complaint, because good citizens feel that they were

justified by the incitements to murder scattered broadcast by the Anarchists.

This criminal unrest may be dismissed as a constantly diminishing factor of the general unrest ; the sporadic murders that may yet occur are not significant of a widely disturbed area of Indian feeling, but are the despairing efforts of the hopelessly discredited group of Anarchists trying to whip up a hatred which all good men are trying to eradicate. Indian educated opinion utterly condemns them, and it is significant that the suggestion made over here of signalling the King's visit by setting free the political prisoners under which name the Anarchists of the great conspiracies are included, has found no echo in India. India does wish for certain changes, but toleration of Anarchy is not among them.

The legitimate unrest that makes for progress, which wisely dealt with, will lead to a close union between England and India, but which, unwisely dealt with, will dig a gulf between them, with England suspicious on the one side and India sullen on the other, is due to English education, English influence, and English example. To understand it we must glance backward at India, not as she was in ancient days, but as she was before her destinies were linked to those of England. Governments and people in the main States of India, held far apart from each other ; Governments taxed their own people, plundered their neighbours, made war on each other, rose and fell, and the people cared little about them, and took part in their quarrels as little as possible. They had to pay taxes whoever ruled, they were looted from time to time whoever ruled ; a little less, a little more ? It

was part of the order of Nature and must be taken as it came. Whoever was on the throne, the land must be ploughed and sown, weeded and reaped ; the sons and daughters must be married ; the old people must die and be buried ; cloth must be woven ; clay must be shaped into tiles, and put on the whirling wheel for vessels ; cattle must be tended, temples visited, garlands made to hang round the images ; the priest must have his offerings, the wandering ascetic his handful of rice ; the wayfarer must be given a place at the village well for washing, a share of a meal, the shade of a tree for rest ; then the panchayet, the Village Council, must be attended, disputes of boundaries decided ; the trespass of a browsing bullock made good, and a score of important matters settled. Who had time to think about Kings and soldiers ? Might the Lord keep them away from quiet peaceable folk and let them mind their own trade of governing and fighting ! If they came into the village they must be humoured and sent on to the next as soon as might be. The only news of the outer world reached the village when some hunted fugitive raced up and cowered out of sight, or a caravan passed or a group of pilgrims came and rested awhile and told strange stories of the plains over which they had walked, the rivers which they had bathed in and forded, the mountains they had climbed. Sometimes an old man, or a middle-aged couple to whom grand-children had been born, or a sad-eyed widow, would bid farewell to friends and kin and start off on a pilgrimage ; but who could tell how they fared ? They never came back. On the whole, life was fair and good, and the sufferings in it were one's own fault, and if one got killed by accident when fighting was going on well, one

could come back again after a stay in the other worlds ; so why be troubled ? So lived and died the great peaceful masses of the people, honest, industrious, gay, and thanked God that they had not been born Kings or soldiers, but decent homely folk.

The learned classes, the Brahmanas, they too, cared little for Governments and their quarrels, except those of them who living in cities, and not clever enough to be deeply learned, became counsellors of Kings, and so were caught in the whirl of civil broils and jealousies and ambitions. The majority studied deeply and became pandits, and held meetings at which they disputed over knotty points of grammar and obscure texts ; they taught whoever came to them to be taught, and after morning prayer and lessons sent the pupils out to beg food from the householders, and fared sometimes ill but mostly well. And they were feasted at all family ceremonies and honoured whenever they walked abroad, and things were very well with them. It was their hereditary right to study and to become learned and to be supported by the community, which they in turn served by teaching the children and by performing all the necessary rites for honourable family and social life. And there were many places where numbers of them gathered together and made a great school ; and their fame spread abroad, and many students came to them walking scores, nay, hundreds of miles in search of their teaching. And none were ever turned away or denied education, nor left shelterless nor naked—true, the clothing was only a strip of cloth, but it sufficed and the pandits had no more. For their learning was their wealth, and honour was the payment made them, over and above their food.

In the towns things were different. Town Brahmans grew wealthy, for they were cleverer than the members of other classes, and they held high posts in the Courts of Kings, and lorded it over all others as being the religious, the highest caste. And the kings and warriors for whom they did all ceremonies loaded them with wealth and they grew worldly and proud; but in cities also there were some who were very learned and took pupils and taught them, and so preserved the old reverence for their rank. And in the cities grew up also bankers and traders making a powerful class of merchants who heaped up great wealth and spent it lavishly in charity; and there were many artisans who lived in the houses of the rich and pursued their crafts at leisure, and so, unhurried, wrought beautifully in metal and in wood, and became great artists, working for the joy of their work.

Such was India in her comparatively modern days. Rajputs and Punjabis, and Maharattas, and Moghals fought and swept up and down over the land; they were scourges like pestilences and famines, that also from time to time ravaged the country. But the peaceable masses of the people lived on through all of these and found life good and sweet, and a living easy to gain. And the merchant class was wealthy and the kings and soldiers heaped up great treasures, for India, as a whole was fabulously rich, and, as Phillimore said in the 18th century "the droppings of the soil fed distant regions." Into this country came the English traders and bought and sold to huge advantage and they multiplied exceedingly; and step by step they took part in state quarrels and they sided sometimes

with one side and sometimes with another, but always to their own strengthening; and by their unity and their perseverance and the inborn strength and organising power in them, they spread further and further and became a great trading company, and set up governors and trained an army—mostly Indians—and put an end to inter-state wars, siding with the weak against the strong, and thus gaining rule over both, until the trading company became intoxicated with its own success and fell; and an Imperial government ruled alike England and India, and those that remained of India's kings became feudatory Princes under one Imperial Crown.

Only those who realise the condition of thought and feeling in India described above will be able to appreciate the immense change brought about by English education opening up a new world to the modern Indian. The huge mass of the peasantry remains as it was, indifferent to the Government if left alone, intensely suspicious if interfered with, or if anything is offered to it. These are the people who believe that Government has poisoned the wells, if there is plague; who think that an agricultural loan is an astute device to confiscate their property or to exact heavier taxes; who ever seek behind an apparent benefit for some ulterior design to injure. They move in masses, can be easily swept away by panic; but they are sensible and shrewd in the things within their narrow circle. But they are changing, the railways have done much; the famines have done much; the periodical visits of the English magistrates have done much. The railways are crowded with these people, and their ideas are enlarged by their travels; but they remain curiously passive when

a Westerner would storm. At Lucknow station a peasant asked whither he was to go for his train ; he was one of a party, grandfather, grandmother, father, mother children, a few friends ; one of our party, seeing his bewilderment, told him, and took him to his platform ; they had all been in the station for more than twenty-four hours seeing trains rush up and rush away, moving when hustled in the grip of a destiny not understood. Famines help, for they see officials work night and day, straining every nerve to help, fetching milk for babies, distributing food ; a mysterious incomprehensible Government that works to save life instead of to destroy it, with a cheery word and a friendly smile instead of a blow and a frown. And the English magistrate comes, listens to complaints, considers hard cases, is entirely just, and—again incomprehensible—takes no bribes. And thus the peasantry is changing, but slowly.

The pandit class is not affected directly ; it studies Sanskrit, knows no English, goes its own way. But indirectly, it is much affected. Its sons form the bulk of the English educated class, and they cease to be pandits. They become vakils (lawyers), even barristers, who have crossed the black water, Government servants, here and there enter the Indian Civil Service. The educated class is made in a great majority, of Brahmanas, with some of the merchant and some of the lower class ; a few of the warriors, a few of the outcastes. The Brahmanas led the way ; hereditarily learned, they grasped at the new learning as of right ; keen brained, subtle witted, they swiftly saw that under the new rulers as under the old, the educated man came to the top. They were fed on English books, English history, English.

economics, English science ; the old religion was laughed at and they turned the weapons which had slain their own religion, against all religion. They travelled and saw English wealth, English prosperity, English freedom ; their teachers extolled English ways, held up English ideals. Self-government, the robbery of taxation without representation, insurrections against tyrants, the cutting off of King's heads, the success of the rebellion of the American colonies against the Crown, the glory of democracy, all was poured into receptive brains and fiery hearts, turning upside down all ideals and breaking the chains of custom into scrap iron. What wonder that, for some generations, the English educated Indians were more English than the English. For a time they were carried off their feet ; they wore English clothes and used English furniture ; and the cost of living went up by leaps and bounds ; the numbers of the class increased. They drifted rapidly into materialism, and many became aggressive Free-thinkers, intoxicated with the new wine of religious freedom, and scornful of the many superstitions that had encrusted their own ancient faith. They tore down and could not build up. This phase did not last ; the advent of Theosophy put an end to it, recalling them to their splendid philosophic literature, and reminding them of their spiritual primacy. It worked for reform instead of for revolution, for religion as against superstition. Pride in Hinduism replaced shame of it, and the idea of an Indian Nation arose, other than an Anglicised India—an India which should be enriched and not denationalised by western thought.

Much else co-operated in building up the idea of a United India, an Indian nation. The steady pressure

of English rule tended to lessen provincial differences and prevented provincial hatreds from breaking into open wars. The British language became a force for union and speakers kept apart by vernaculars mutually unintelligible were drawn together by talking English to each other. Indians working with Englishmen for common objects caught their way of dealing with public matters of business, and became penetrated with the idea that a man had a duty to his country and should take interest in public affairs.

All this made for good and steady progress, and for the quiet up-building of a noble nationhood, slowly and surely growing into freedom. Unhappily economical pressure came to precipitate a crisis, and made a soil into which revolutionary seed could be thrown. Indian industries had withered under western competition, hand-made cloths were ousted by Lancashire made cotton goods, cheap and shoddy ; the country was flooded with rubbish and its artisans were pushed to the wall. The educated class had increased in size, had crowded Government service, and the learned professions had swamped all the available openings ; competition was crushing, a B.A. went cheap at a pound a month as a clerk, and hundreds of B.A.'s hung about unemployed, even at that modest remuneration ; the cost of education became prohibitory for the sons of the clerk B.A.'s, and sullen discontent spread far and wide. Englishmen held the best paid posts. Why should they ? Places of authority were closed against Indians in their own country, and had not they the first claim ? There was no thought of disloyalty, no hatred of British rule. Indians were willing to learn the ways of freedom from the British but they were unwilling to be forever shut out from.

treading them. Men of brilliant intellect, of noble character, found themselves treated as of an inferior race, and they began to chafe against the barriers. But they believed in English good-will, in English love of liberty; they thought England did not understand Indian aspirations, nursed into life in her own bosom; and, to give articulate expression to their hopes and fears, their views and well-considered opinions, they founded the Indian National Congress.

The National Congress has been the organ of the English-educated class ever since its foundation, which occurred at one of the Annual Conventions of the Theosophical Society. It was intended to voice their views and draw attention to Indian grievances, in a sober and constitutional manner. This function has been well discharged and many reforms asked for have been passed into law. The present Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, recognised its value and its power by receiving a deputation from it early in the present year, and pointing out that many of its members were on the newly formed Councils, and could there legislate for the reforms asked for in Congress.

The changes needed to encourage the growth of India into a self-governing part of the Empire are thus well under way, and loyal co-operation between the two races, and a sincere wish on both sides to change suspicion into trust, will enable all these necessary changes to be brought about without turmoil or dangerous agitation. But it must not be expected that what is here called democracy will appear in India at least for many centuries, for the reasons already given before. It may well be that the world will have outgrown democracy, and will have established the rule of the wisest instead

of the rule of the most numerous before the Indian peasants have grown into civic manhood. India therefore may thus escape from the transition period through which the younger nations are now passing, the inept endeavours to remedy old wrongs by the creation of new ones, and the endless streams of futile talk in which the public time is wasted.

The legitimate unrest need therefore cause no uneasiness in England, so far as politics are concerned. It is bringing about the changes soberly and steadily, which are needed for its removal, and the statesman-like reforms introduced by Lord Minto have opened up the way which leads to peace. The unfortunate introduction of religion into politics by the establishment of Mohammedan electorates is a cause of much unnecessary discord, but it may be hoped that this will be removed—though not immediately.

But there are other causes that remain, and which must be removed if the Empire in India is to last ; and the one which causes most anger among Indians and the mention of which causes the most unbridled wrath among Anglo-Indians, is the attitude of arrogance adopted by the white man to the coloured, and the all too frequent personal violence used. It is not as a rule the official class that is to blame for the latter ; personal violence is used more by English traders, contractors, overseers, clerks, and the many " Tramps abroad " than by officials. The official is often cold and domineering in manner but he rarely condescends to personal violence ; the officials of high rank are courteous, suave and dignified, and complaints against them are rarely heard. But the Englishmen of the lower and coarser types are intolerable in India ; their ill-manners at home

are restrained by public opinion, but there is no public opinion in India for which they care. The furious but hidden hatred caused by these outrages is little known to Englishmen, but it smoulders on, ready at any moment to burst into flame. How many of these recitals have I listened to as they poured red-hot from the lips of Indian friends and acquaintances who had endured them and who kept the memory of them in their hearts. Worst enemy of England is the man who dishonours her fair name by foul usage of her coloured citizens.

Another cause of legitimate unrest is the economic condition of the country. Indian crafts are dying out under the influx of cheap English and German goods ; and German goods are now beginning to oust the English. Many villages of weavers are no longer full of the hum of the shuttle, and these men, weavers by heredity through many generations, are now crowding into the already crowded ranks of agriculturists. Carving of wood and moulding of clay are ceasing to be artistic, and are becoming crude and ill-done to meet the rage for cheap things. Kashmir shawls are no longer made and sold at thousands of rupees ; forty or fifty rupees are thought enough to give, and so the art perishes and the artists turn to lower work. Districts, once famous for a special handicraft, may be ransacked in vain for fine specimens : " We no longer can make them," is the answer, " no-one cares to buy." In this loss of high-class Indian work, the rich Indians are mostly to blame. They have preferred to crowd their rooms with Birmingham and Manchester goods, to buy articles in glaring bad taste from English shops, rather than to patronise the exquisite " native " arts. The cry of " Swadeshi "—own country—which was turned by the

Anarchists into a political weapon in the conflicts which ravaged Bengal after the ill-advised "partition," is a thoroughly sound economic cry, and points to one of the ways out of poverty. Here the Government is helping by ordering large quantities of Indian-made goods in preference to foreign-made in many of its departments.

Yet may Indians in this well help themselves, and restore economic prosperity.

Many of the remedies for Indian unrest leap to the eyes by the mere statement of its causes. They may readily be summarised.

1. The introduction of religious and moral teaching into education, the teaching to be according to the religion of the pupils. If prejudice against a name could be eliminated, the Theosophical presentment of the doctrines common to the great faiths might be utilised. In "the Universal Text-Book of Religion and Morals," published by the Theosophical Society, such common teaching is given, supported by texts from the bibles of the world. Part I gives the common religious teachings. Part II the common moral teachings. Where this is impossible, Hindus can be taught from the textbooks, elementary and advanced, issued by the Trustees of the Central Hindu College, already used for the teaching of Hindu boys and girls in the leading Indian States, and students of other religions can be taught by their own ministers. Education which does not build up character is not worthy of the name.

2. The opening of all posts under Government control to Indians and English on equal conditions, and the removal of examinations for the Indian civil service of India. The rightful ambition of Indians to fill the

highest posts in the service of their own country should be recognised and gratified. Colour should cease to be a disqualification for any post and the Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1857, should at length be carried out.

3. The abolition of the unfair burdens imposed on Indian manufacturers, as on the cotton mills of Bombay, and the employment by Government, wherever possible, of Indian-made articles in preference to foreign-made.

4. The encouragement of private effort in the foundation and endowment of educational institutions up to Universities, instead of the official opposition now encountered. The scheme put forward under the name of the Mahommedan University is merely another Government Institution, instead of being one in which Mahommedan initiative and control should be recognised. My own scheme, signed by some of the most eminent Indians, including five Vice-Chancellors and several judges, has been bandied about for a year since Lord Minto sent it up, as Viceroy, in October 1910. A third scheme of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, is still embryonic, and a fourth, by a powerful Hindu body, the Mariamandal, is even less developed. A sympathetic Education Minister would encourage all such signs of civic life and enthusiasm instead of sprinkling them lavishly with cold water and causing widespread suspicion and discontent.

5. The severe punishment of all outrages committed by Europeans on Indians and the exclusion of all found guilty from official functions and hospitalities.

6. The encouragement of the sentiment of loyalty innate in all Orientals, by the placing of a member of the Royal family on the Viceregal Throne, surrounding

him with a Privy Council of the First Class Indian Princes, giving him a Ministry of Indian and English statesmen to be appointed by himself, and a Legislative Council elected by electorates, in which no special religion was given an advantage. Such a Government would arouse and gather round it loyal and patriotic citizens, and under its guidance progress would be assured without violence, legitimate ambitions would be gratified, and a career of public utility and of honour would be open to every citizen. Such are a few of the changes which would go far to remove unrest. As the violent side of this unrest disappears freedom should be restored to the Press with a law of libels, applicable alike to Indian and English newspapers, which should protect private persons. The Press edited by Indians, with one or two honourable exception, is curiously irresponsible, printing any amount of anonymous personal abuse without making the slightest attempt to distinguish truth from falsehood. It is this lack of the sense of responsibility which has rendered the Press Laws necessary, but while these protect the Government, they leave the Press free to pour out any amount of filth on private individuals. The English-edited Press is not venomous, except where Anarchists are concerned, and there are some good papers edited by Englishmen which maintain honourable traditions and do not permit themselves to be made the tools of private malice.

Let me close by affirming my belief, based on eighteen years of close companionship and work with Hindus, that there is nothing in Indian conditions to cause us to fear for the Empire, and that if India should break the bond the fault will lie with England rather than with India.

THE VALUE OF THEOSOPHY IN THE RAISING OF INDIA.*

FRIENDS :

MANY of you know that the value of Theosophy with regard to the raising of India has been a matter that has been largely discussed, that has been challenged by many; you will find that many say that the Theosophical propaganda has tended to bring back old superstition, and has also tended to turn men's minds away from the more practical affairs of life, and to withdraw some of the brightest intelligences from the pressing problems of the day. These criticisms come from men who, by their intelligence, their patriotism, their desire to serve their country, are worthy of the greatest respect and consideration. I have therefore thought it desirable to deal with this subject, in order that, if possible, I may show to you that the criticism is based on a mistake, that the challenge is one which may readily be answered. I shall try to show you this, partly by an appeal to history, partly by pointing out the condition of things in the present day as they are open to observation, partly by appealing to your intelligence as to the natural inevitable consequences of events. I shall try to show you that Theosophy is following the best and the wisest methods for the permanent elevation of the country, and is really employing the most direct of all ways of

dealing with the general distress, with the general condition of this land.

First, let me deal for a moment with the accusation that the tendency of the Theosophic propaganda is to revive ancient superstitions. Much that was a few years ago regarded as superstition is now being re-established by modern science, and modern science is doing more in this way than is Theosophy. But I am prepared at once to say that, "whenever there is revival of religions there must also be to some extent the revival of ancient superstition; and the revival of religion has, it is admitted on all hands, accompanied the work of the Theosophical Society. It is not only the friends of Theosophy but also its opponents and those who are neutral who admit that, wherever Theosophy goes, a revival of religion follows; and that has been the case in India, where the most ancient of the religions of this land has shown during the last twenty years, the most marked increase of vigour, of increased strength, of strenuous life. I say, I am prepared to admit that wherever such a revival takes place there will be, to some extent, a revival of superstition. I am prepared to admit that the impulse of spiritual life poured out into a nation will have some eddies and back-waters, which bring life again to the dying seeds of superstition. Is it not written that every undertaking is surrounded by evil as fire is surrounded by smoke? In a world as imperfect as the present can any undertaking be productive of nothing but good? Imperfection must necessarily accompany the good; the smoke must go with the fire. But if you are wise, when there is much smoke with a fire, you do not try to extinguish the fire, and remain in the cold, but you try to make the fire burn more brightly

in order that the smoke may disappear. You find that superstition accompanies the revival of religion ; the way to escape it is not to go back to the cold chill of materialism, but to spread the knowledge which will cut away scepticism on the one side and superstition on the other with the sword of wisdom. That is the way of the wise, that is the remedy for ignorance. It is true that the advent of true spiritual teachers will be utilised by the false teachers for their own gain and for their own advantage. Admitting that with the increase of spirituality its dark sister superstition will for a while hold up her head, I say to you that the increase of religion is the way to destroy superstition, and that you must deal with it in the way of the wise and not in the way of the foolish. The modern spirit of science stimulates research in every direction. It is by asking nature of her secrets that the advance of science is made. Is that an unmixed good? What of the great crime of modern science, one of the most ghastly crimes against nature—vivisection? That comes from the anxiety to have knowledge, to find out the truth about nature. Would you give up modern science because of the crime of the vivisectionists? Or would you keep science and rouse the conscience of men, and so prevent the evil?

Take the second accusation, that we are not practical, that we turn men's minds away from political, social, commercial questions, and so lead much of the intelligence of the nation away from the questions on which the salvation of the nation depends. I put it to you that that is the most practical of methods which goes to the root of the ills from which the nation suffers, and not that which deals only with the superficial results and

leaves the root untouched. The truly practical gardener is not the man who goes about the garden cutting off the heads of the weeds and making a temporary clearance, while he leaves underground the roots of the weeds, which presently will send out fresh shoots and cover the garden again. The practical gardener is the man who roots up the weeds, so that in the future they shall not sprout again. And the fault, the error, of most modern politicians is that they deal with results and not with causes, they deal with effects and not with the underlying roots; and the outcome is that the evils come up again and again and again, in never-ceasing succession, and humanity wearies itself century after century cutting off the hydra heads of evils that grow again as often as each head is cut down.

Now Theosophy goes to the root of the problem, and deals with the evils in a slower but in a more effective way. And I am going to try, by an appeal first to history, to show you how India gradually fell, and out of that to draw the lesson of how India may gradually regain her lost position.

Look back into the past and where do you find the first traces of decay in India? You go back hundreds, nay thousands, of years and you find a mighty nation, prosperous and wealthy, with arts and manufactures, with the practical science of life, and the various classes of the community prosperous and happy. You find in that community religion ruling the thoughts of men and honoured in every part of the State. You find lofty intelligence, the creative intelligence that gave to India its mighty literature, the intelligence that wrote its philosophy, its dramas, its marvellous spiritual treatises, an intelligence so wonderful that to-day, when its

products are translated by the wisest men in the western world, they recognise the grandeur of the philosophy, they admit the sublimity of its spiritual work. Hand-in-hand with the mighty religion and the magnificent intelligence, you find a vast material prosperity ; a prosperity so great that its decay demanded ages of foreign conquest and internecine strife ; even in the eighteenth century, you find that India was—after centuries of conquest, after invasion following invasion—still so wealthy that, to use the words of Phillimore, “the droppings of her soil fed distant nations.” Which of these three things, the religion, the intelligence, the material prosperity, was the first to show the sign of decay ? The spirituality. The first step downwards in India was taken when she began to fall in spirituality, when her teachers lost their ancient inspiration and became reproducers of the experience of others instead of having first-hand knowledge for themselves. The days passed away when the King from his throne would come down and bow at the feet of the half-naked Brahmana, because he was wealthy with wisdom and not with gold, and because the learning of the spiritual teacher won the homage of the loftiest and wealthiest. In those days the King himself, when he saw his grandchildren around him, would place his son upon the throne and go out himself into the forest to spend his last days in meditation and in worship. Those were the days when India was the greatest, those the days when she wielded the mightiest influence in the world. Gradually the fine light of spirituality became dim and lost brilliance, and then the second step was taken in the gradual decay of the creative intelligence. As the mind of man was no longer stimulated by the loftiest

questions of philosophy, of spiritual knowledge, a change came over the intelligence of the nation. It lost its originality, its inspiration, it lost its creative power ; it became more and more imitative and less and less original. Men no longer created great works of literature ; they wrote only commentaries on the past, and disputed over questions of grammar, over questions of verbal interpretation. Thus intelligence came down slowly, step-by-step, until to-day you search in vain for the creative power, only some glimmering is appearing where still spirituality is strong. The third step was in the gradual loss of material prosperity, the beginning of the decay that you see around you to-day. Her arts, no longer fostered by religion and intelligence gradually lost their beauty, gradually began to fade away ; her industries, no longer guided by keen intelligence, gradually grew weaker and weaker, and now they are on the point of following her perished arts. Arts and industries thus slowly decayed and with them inevitably the material prosperity of the land. As you look at India to-day, you see only one great industry, the industry of agriculture, surviving, and even that is by no means what it ought to be, by no means what it might be ; the other avocations are gradually disappearing, they are ready to vanish away.

Such are the three steps of the national decline. First, spirituality ; second, the higher intelligence ; and third, material prosperity. If India is to rise again, if she is to stand high among the nations, how shall that be conducted ? By retracting the past, by re-mounting the past steps in order. She must begin by reviving the spirituality, the root source of all. Then she must build and revive education, substituting for the present an

education suited to the crying needs of the country ; and when spirituality is re-established, when education is wisely chosen and wisely directed, then the restoration of the national prosperity is inevitable, it cannot be escaped.

Now, these facts can be further strengthened by the testimony coming from the history of other nations. You may study what nation you like in the past, and you will find the same thing to be true, that as long as religion was mighty the nation flourished ; when religion decayed the nation decayed. Take, if you like, ancient Egypt ; in the person of her Pharaoh religion and the State were conjoined. In the days of Egypt's mightiest power, religion was the guiding force in the State. If you take the modern Empire of Rome the same is seen ; while religion was strong the Republic was mighty, and the devotion of her children built the Roman Empire. When religion decayed, when materialism took its place, not only did she gradually lose in literature, but her Empire crumbled into dust, it vanished from the face of the earth. If I had time, I might take you to nation after nation, and show you the same causes bringing about the same results. I ask you, if such be the testimony of history to the relation between religion and material prosperity, is it an unpractical thing, when one desires to help a nation to rise, to begin with the foundation on which all material greatness has ever been built, and to try to make that foundation strong, to build on it the edifice of national prosperity ?

But it is not alone an appeal to history. Why should this be true ? Here I appeal to intelligence. Judge you the cogency of what I say. What is the

fundamental truth of religion ? It is, without challenge, the Unity of the Self. One life in all. One life in every separate form. An underlying Unity amid a superficial diversity ; that is the fundamental truth of religion and that is the basis of the brotherhood of man. Now out of that truth in general grows every virtue by which a nation becomes strong, by which a nation becomes great, by which a nation rises in the scale of peoples. Out of the belief in the One Life grow the recognition of the national life, and of the need in the nation for unity, patriotism, love of country. The public spirit without which no nation can live and grow, the readiness to subordinate private interest to the common good, the readiness to sacrifice oneself for the sake of the larger self of the nation, these grow out of the recognition of the One Life. Without this there is no national life. You cannot have a nation, when the members of the nation do not recognise that the country has a greater claim on them than any narrower circle. When each man thinks for himself, fights for his own ends, follows his own aims, seeks his own interests without regard to the common interest, that nation is a dying nation, it has no possible future before it. The danger of India to-day lies in the lack of public spirit, lies in the lack of true and enlightened patriotism, lies in the lack of that love of country which is the inspirer of every noble action, without which there is no citizenship ; however much men may prate of liberty and patriotism ; there is no liberty where men are under the bondage of selfishness, and hold narrow and isolated views, and where self-interest reigns supreme. The men who live only for themselves are slaves. No liberty is possible until character is builded, and man's

sense of duty to the country rules supreme. That sense grows out of religion ; without religion no patriotism and no public spirit are possible ; and without patriotism and public spirit there is no prosperity. The civic virtues grow out of religion.

That is the reason why we urge the question of religion as vital to the question of nationality. Not religion in the sectarian sense, in the petty quarrels with one another, but that spiritual religion which recognises the unity of all, and knows that the nation is a single body, and that if one organ is suffering the whole of the body must inevitably be suffering. I appeal to you because I have the right to do so, since I love and serve India far more than most of you do. I venture to say, my friends and brothers, that the greatest danger for India in the future lies in the lack of public spirit. Occasionally, but only rarely, you get public spirit within the limits of a town ; sometimes public spirit within the limits of a province. One man says : " I am a Maratha," or " I am a Bengali " ; another says : " I belong to the Punjab," a third says : " I belong to Madras." Where is the man who says : " I belong to India, she is my Mother-land and her interests are mine." That is the spirit which must gradually grow, if India is ever again to be great, and in stimulating the religious spirit we are stimulating the sense of unity, and are thus laying deep and strong the foundation of future nationality.

It is not only this that is wanted, but also the public spirit which makes the cause of the weak the cause of the strong, and which realises that wealth, strength and power are only held in trust for the defending and, the helping of the weak. You see a man unjustly treat-

ed : do you spring forward for his defence as if he were your brother, or do you turn aside and say : " It is no business of mine, why should I interfere ? " It is the business of every man when one man suffers ; it is the duty of every man to speak, where one man is unjustly treated, or unjustly crushed. This is what is felt, where there is belief in the One Life.

Another great service that Theosophy does to India in relation to religion is that it teaches the value and the essential identity of all religions. The Indian nation of the future cannot consist only of Hindus ; it must embrace the large minority that belongs to Islam, and the small, but prosperous, Parsi community, and a certain number of Christians. All these are Indian-born, and must go to the building of an Indian Nation. At present the various religions separate Indians into more or less hostile camps ; Theosophy alone, with its message of peace, can bind them into one. Within the Theosophical Society Hindu and Mussulman, Parsi and Christian, meet as brothers, feeling no religious hatreds and separated by no religious jealousies. Each remains faithful to his own creed, but respects that of his neighbour, and the common truths, which all alike hold, form a strong bond of union. The friendship of religions, essential to the future of India already exists within the Theosophical Society, and one great value of Theosophy to India lies in its eradication of religious hatreds and of religious disdain. Wherever it spreads, religious peace follows it, and it is thus surely removing the religious barriers which prevent Indians of different creeds from feeling themselves to be one nation. All religions have one origin and one goal, Theosophy is ever proclaiming and proving ; why then dispute about secondary

differences? Live your own religion, it urges, and let your neighbour live his, and turn your attention to the great truths in which you agree, rather than to the minor points on which you differ. Those who seek to draw together Hindus and Mussulmans find in Theosophy their most effective co-worker: for instead of seeking to ignore religion—an effort stamped by history with failure—it strengthens each man in his own faith, but fills him with love and respect for that of others.

You see then why we begin with the religious propaganda. Now Theosophy has passed to the second step, the step of education, and is concerning itself through the length and breadth of the land with the education fitted to the needs of India. What must that education be? First, of course, religious and moral; without that nothing can be achieved; that is essential and fundamental; the building up of character in the young, so that they may be fit to be citizens of a country, so that they may grow into lovers of their own land. Let me tell you, as I have told many in India, how that love of country is fostered in the English Public Schools. They are not so foolish in England as to separate the intellectual training of their sons from religion, from morality. They know that these are essential in the education of the true citizen, of the lover of his land. If you go to an English Public School, like Harrow or Eton, you will find a building there, the College Chapel; week by week the boys gather in that Chapel; week by week they worship within those walls; look at the walls and what will you see? In glowing colours, on brass tablets fixed all round the walls, you will see the names of old boys, who once knelt where the present generation is kneeling, who

went out into the world to work for their country as soldiers, as explorers, as traders, as civil servants of every kind, who died in the service of their land, who gave their lives in order that England might be great. As the boys kneel in worship, their eyes are attracted by those brass tablets that adorn their Chapel walls ; their very prayers are mingled with the thoughts of the heroes who once were boys where they are boys now ; and a longing emulation is born within their hearts to repeat the deeds that immortalise the names glowing before them, to leave behind them also a memory that will not die, a name worthy to be blazoned on the walls for the loving veneration of generations yet to come. The passionate enthusiasm that you find in the young is used to make them patriots, lovers of their country, and that influence ingrained in them from religion makes them the lovers of England that they are. Such education should you give your sons. Is India not a country as worthy of the love of her children as any other country in the world ? Is your past less great than the past of England, or your story less wonderful than the story of her growth ? Are not your heroes as great as hers, your children as mighty as any that she can produce ? You have all the materials to turn the boys into passionate lovers of their country, and you leave out of their education all that is Indian, and then wonder that India is not great.

Theosophy took up that great problem. It declared that religion must be carried into the lives of the young. It first established boys' associations all over the country, where religion should be taught. But those associations were outside the School curriculum, outside the pale of Indian School instruction.

It next began to deal directly with the question, and gathering some members of its own body and other prominent Hindus together, it founded the Central Hindu College at Benares as a type. There Hinduism and morality on the basis of Hindu Shastras are taught, and the College has issued a series of religious and moral Text Books, which can be used in every School in the land. And see how the Indian Community is rising to the sense of its duty. When we first began to deal with this problem, people told us we were Utopian, that no one would listen to us. But in five years the idea has swept over India, and we see on all sides efforts are being made to bring about the religious and moral training of Indian boys. Mussulmans are doing the same thing for the Mussulman youths at Aligarh, and we hope College after College will arise where religion will be taught, and that no boy will be taught a religion which is alien to the creed of his fathers.

Turn from that side of education to the side of the training of the mind. This is but badly done at the present time. You foster, in the system of education here followed, that memory of Indians which is naturally wonderful enough, and you do not draw out and develop those qualities of reasoning, of observation, of quick judgment, of accurate understanding, which are less prominent to-day, because disregarded in our Schools. You must change the method of literary education, if India is to rise, and train the whole mind, not only cram the memory. I read a little time ago that the object of education in India is to provide the Government with clerks. The object of education is not to enable a man to earn forty or sixty rupees a month, but

to raise the intellect of man to understand the problems of life, to make him fit to be a citizen of a mighty Empire. Education is no education which trains the memory, but does not evolve the reasoning faculties ; it is no education which enables a man to answer questions by rote, but leaves him dumb before the great questions of Life. The object of education is not to pass examinations, but to evolve the mental faculty, to make man, as he should be, a reflection of Divine Intelligence. That is the object of education, and not the manufacturing of clerks.

But it is not so much on the deficiencies of the literary education that I want to say some words to-night. The education that is wanted here is not only literary education. You have a great many, too many, Government servants ; you have, if I may say so, too many lawyers ; you have too many, far too many, men who are in the unproductive professions, who only shift about the wealth of the country but do nothing to increase it ; the competition in the learned professions, in Government service, is killing in its strain on the men of middle age to-day. The frightful competition drives down the reward of their labour, so that your highly educated men have to starve on thirty or forty rupees a month. Where that is the case, you may be sure that the economics of education are badly guided. What you require in India now is to make your bright intelligent boys understand that they should turn their attention to other walks of life, in which they may serve not only themselves but their country at the same time. You want an education, scientific more than literary, an education that shall send out into the world men who are ready to revive industry and manufactures,

men trained in the knowledge which will gradually improve the resources of the country. Take an illustration. You have mineral wealth beneath your soil ; your hills are crammed with mineral wealth all over the country ; it is possessed of the precious metals and of coal, iron, and other useful and valuable ores waiting for the working. How do you deal with them ? You send over to England to get men to survey the country, to explore it, and to report upon it. Your own boys should be trained as mineralogists, surveyors, first-rate engineers, men who can utilise all that is found in the land. Why send abroad for what you should have at home, and why not send some of your brilliant lads into those paths of industry, rather than into the over-crowded professions ? It is not only with regard to the mineral wealth of the country that your education is badly directed. Take the need of the knowledge of chemistry, specially, in your manufactures. Now on this I can strengthen my argument, by an appeal to the leading educationalists of England who are raising the same cry there, although it is not as much wanted as here. Lately in the British Association some of the leading educationalists of the land gathered together and discussed the educational problem in England. They complained that the education was lacking in the elements which can make a nation great, and they pointed out that the commercial supremacy of England was threatened by Germany simply because Germany gives a better education to her sons. I printed some of the figures in the *Hindu College Magazine*, because I wanted them to be widely circulated. I find it stated by Professor Dewar that in Germany there are four thousand five hundred well-trained chemists

employed in various factories, in looking after manufactures, and as compared with this there are only fifteen hundred ill-trained ones in England. Four thousand, five hundred in Germany, fifteen hundred in England ; how many here ? Can you get even one, one man of Indian birth, of Indian training, versed in chemistry, so that he may help to revive the dying industries of India ? Without that there is no commercial prosperity ; without that you will never be able to hold your own. A nation owes to its scientific knowledge its commercial and industrial growth. I said you want a chemist, an Indian chemist. You have one Indian, a genius, a wonderful man, a man who has made his way against countless difficulties until he stands in the front rank not of Indian but of European Scientists—Professor Jagadish Chandra Bose. There you have a man who is perhaps one in a generation, a man of original genius, a man of marvellous power, and a man who has raised the name of India in the scientific world. He has made one of those discoveries that are epoch-making. Since Darwin's great idea of Evolution there has been no such epoch-making discovery as that made by Professor Bose. He has proved that there is but one life in the animal, in the vegetable, and in the mineral and while speaking in England he was not ashamed of his ancient faith, but in the very face of England's great scientists he declared that what he proved by experiment was the truth found and taught thousands of years ago by his ancestors on the banks of the Ganga, that there is but one life among the diversity of forms. Now take that man, a man of whom any country might be proud. How is he treated ? He has no fully equipped laboratory in which he can carry out his most delicate experiments. He has had

twice to travel across to England, in order to obtain the use of the apparatus without which he could not carry on his work ; he has to teach boys in the Presidency College, and the brain that might make priceless discoveries is engaged in teaching boys, a task which hundreds of others could perform equally well. He should have a laboratory fitted with every modern improvement, he should have leisure to work independently on his experiments. England offered to build him a laboratory, offered to support him, so that he might carry on his scientific experiments, but he refused the offer ; he said : " I am an Indian, I must go back to India ; there are, there may be, some young men whom I may help to train, if I live in my own land." That is the man you have here, whom you do not treat as he should be treated. Why if he were an Englishman, Englishmen would put at his feet all that he needs. Why should he be so treated because he is born here, a native of India ? I would that I could make many of you understand his value, so that a shame on India might be removed by some of her wealthy men, who could do it if they would.

Scientific education, then, is what you want. Men trained so that they can go out and revive your industries, improve your agriculture. Has it struck you how even the last remnants of Indian weaving are gradually dying ? Men, who were at the loom but some years since, are now at the plough. No country is safe where only one industry is practically found, and you must revive manufactures, if Indian prosperity is to return.

But how are you going to revive them ? We have reached our third step, the re-establishment of

material prosperity. And this brings us face to face with the question that has arisen out of the selfishness of modern civilisation in the West. Great wealth is there face to face with the problem of labour in a way which, if you are wise, you will carefully avoid. In England, in France, in Germany, the sense of unity has not been sufficiently felt. It has existed as a feeling of nationality as against other nations, but not as an internal bond. The poor who produce have been separated by a great gulf from those whom they enrich with their labour, and hence out of the selfishness of the rich has arisen the great problem of labour in the West. You see English wealth and English splendour when you got to England ; you see the glitter and the pleasure, you see the luxury of the West End of London, you see the wealth in the palaces of her nobility, you see the magnificence of her cities ; which of you has seen the misery of her poor ? I have seen it for many, many years of my life. I lived and laboured to do something, if possible, to relieve that frightful misery. I am not speaking out of books, I speak out of the experience of my own life. I was a member on the London School Board for the most miserably poor district in London, and ninety thousand children from that crowded Tower Hamlets attended the schools. It was my duty as a member to visit the schools, and what did I see ? I saw little children in the cold of the English winter, bare-footed, and with bare feet frost-bitten because of the bitter cold. I saw them fall from the form on to the floor fainting. On inquiry I found that they had come to school without one fragment of bread crossing their lips, and were fainting from starvation, at the same time that we were trying

to train their brains. I have taken part in many a great labour struggle. I went into the houses of many during the great Match Strike that some of you may have heard of, where girls, young women, were starving on the miserable pittance that they received. I went into the homes of many, and I found little children of four and five tied in their high chairs at a table, and there employed in making match-boxes hour after hour, till they dropped asleep over their work. I saw them crying and sobbing, as the tender baby fingers were bleeding from the rough surface of the sand-paper which they pasted on the match-boxes. And when I said to the parents: "Why make these babies work thus?" The answer was: "Madam, if they do not work they starve." You have no poverty like that in India; nothing so terrible, nothing so degrading. A famine may kill thousands, but the slow starvation of thousands of the children of the poor of London is more terrible than the rapid action of the famine. One-tenth of the population of London, that city so great in wealth, splendour and civilisation, dies in the work-houses, in the gaols, and in the hospitals. One man out of every ten perishes in habitual destitution. I have seen little children with hands lacerated and flesh bleeding, because the child had to drive a needle with its palms through the coarse sacking, of which sacks are made, paid for at the rate of sixpence per dozen sacks. And when I asked why the child did not buy the shield that would protect the hand, the answer would be: "I have not got a half-penny, and it costs a half-penny to buy a shield." Now why do I tell you these things? I tell you, because they are the out-growth of selfishness, that does not care how the poor may suffer provided great fortunes may be made.

I tell you this, because you are at the beginning of this possible experience, and I would save India from it. Why not take counsel, why not take advantage of the experience of western lands, and then so arrange matters that when you make wealth, you should think of the makers as well as of yourself ; that you should regard their health, their comfort, their welfare, as your own, and so prevent the brutalising poverty that is the danger that is menacing European civilisation to-day ?

Gradually you will set up your manufactures, you will revive your industries. Take you care that in all your doings you do not treat men as machinery ; that you think of the worker as well as the work. Remember that no country is really rich, where many of her people are miserably poor. Remember that no country is truly great where thousands of her children are plunged into dire poverty. And remember that these problems that are taxing English brains to-day are problems that you may avoid by remembering the One Life in all. For they are trying to deal with a problem there when it has grown great, while you may prevent the problem from arising here.

As I told you the dark side, let me say a word of the brighter side which lately has dawned on English industry. Some of the great manufacturers are religious men, and they have felt their consciences pricked by the miseries of their workers, and have begun a different kind of policy. They have built, outside the crush of the city, villages where all their work-people may live. They have built them comfortable houses, not only comfortable but also pretty, so as to make the sense of self-respect felt which does so much in the raising of a people. They have in those villages places of amusement, coffee-

houses, theatres, reading-rooms, libraries—places, where, after work is done, the worker may find relaxation and amusement. There are several of those villages now built by some of the greatest of the English manufacturers. Would it not be better to follow their example rather than that of the selfish ones, who have created the trouble and the danger? This is the recognition of brotherhood, of unity, which in some few cases at least is changing the face of the industrial relations in England between masters and men.

You may see now why I began with religion, and how it affects these practical problems of the day. You cannot solve them without the help of the deeper truths of religion, without the recognition of your fundamental unity. For that reason we press religion, we press education, and when these two things are rightly done, material prosperity must inevitably follow.

Nor can we omit, in considering this matter, that social betterment inevitably follows religious, moral and educational betterment, and that herein also Theosophy in India is doing yeoman service. In the revival of religion, men's minds are turned to the earlier conditions of Hindu social life, and they see there a flexibility, a freedom, an activity, that are not seen now, and they see also how much the dignity and position of the Hindu woman, and the learning and purity of Hindu priests, excelled in those days the social condition of to-day. That study of ancient ideals leads necessarily to the desire to apply them to modern life, and a wish grows up for the restoration of social happiness on the old lines and in consonance with national ideals, rather than for reforms based on western ideas. The preaching of the ancient ideals by Theosophists is rapidly passing into

well-considered changes in the modern social system, changes which will restore society to a better state and re-establish nobler conditions. The abolition of child-marriage, the education of girls, the training of priests in literature and in right-living, the promotion of inter-marriage and inter-dining between sub-divisions of the same great caste—already sanctioned in South India by the present Shri Shankaracharya—the receiving back into social life of travelled Hindus who conform to their religious and moral obligations—all these attempts to restore old ideals in the place of modern abuses grow naturally out of the religious revival, and out of the giving of religious and moral education on the lines of the Hindu Shastras.

Such then, it seems to some of us, my brothers, is the value of Theosophy in the raising of India. We began with the teaching of the unity, with the revival of religion. We passed on to the educational phase, and are now striving in a small measure indeed, but still effectively, to change the lines of the national education. We have aroused a feeling that seeks to better the social system, by a restoration of the old social ideals adapted to modern life. That is the work the Theosophical Society is doing, and I venture to say that such work should appeal to every lover of his country, to every patriot, to every friend of India, for only by labour along these lines can the future of India be made secure.

Make no mistake as to that future. There is no grudging feeling on the part of the English Public in England with respect to India. On the contrary, the heart of England is open to India to-day as it never has been before, and she is beginning to recognise the priceless

value of the great nation which has come within the limits of her Empire. Remember the wise words spoken by Lord George Hamilton, Secretary of State for India, that the Government of India must be based on Indian feeling, Indian custom, Indian thought, and that what was good in England was not necessarily congenial or useful in India. What is wanted here is really the building of noble characters, of lofty-minded patriots, who will then be recognised by England as true representatives of India, with whom England will gladly take counsel as they prove themselves worthy. Do not suppose that England can make you either great or free. You alone can make yourselves great ; you alone can make yourselves free. The greatness and the freedom of a nation depend on none save itself. No nation can be strong unless it has men of noble character, who are patriots, who are lovers of their land : and no nation can be free which is not worthy of freedom by the qualities of its citizens, by proving itself fit to be part of a mighty Empire. Great then are the opportunities that lie within your reach, greater than ever the future which is opening before you ; but if you would seize the opportunity, you must begin by the building up of the character of the citizens, by the spreading of the feeling which makes a nation great. England cannot in this do much to help ; it is you who must help yourselves. But this know of the country of my birth, that it is a country generous in its instinct, generous in its feeling, and it will gladly welcome and accept your counsels when it sees that they are worthy of acceptance. How great your future may be, if you will only rise to the possibilities of greatness, you so mighty in the past, so fallen now ! That which made you great in the past,

religion, keen intelligence, love of country, being intent upon the welfare of the masses, these are the things that alone can make you great in the future. No use to look back to the past, save as inspiration for the future. I have been told that I flatter my Indian friends. I have been told that the appeal to India's past greatness is out of place, that such an appeal arouses vanity, does no real good. If I have sought to show you the greatness of your past, it is because as a nation is proud of its past, it is able to build its future. If I have sought to inspire you with reverence for that past, it is not that you may boast yourselves as children of the Rishis, but that you may win the self-respect without which no nation can be truly great. If you have their blood but not their spirit, if you have their physical kinship but not their spiritual likeness, if you have their external body but not their greatness and knowledge—then it seems to me that the great ancestry shames rather than is a thing for pride and vanity. I want that you should look at the past only as an inspiration for the work of the present. And if I have sought to show you the contrast between the greatness of your fathers and the smallness of their children, I have done it that the pride in men's hearts may awaken, and that they may say : " With so great a past we are strong enough to make a mighty future."

Further, remember that, though in all this lecture I have spoken of men, the word men includes both sons and daughters, and not sons only. And you cannot keep the daughters out of your consideration. Until the girls also are educated, until they are taught and trained, until they know the glory of the past, and teach the children on their knees what India was and

what India may be ; until Indian mothers are also worthy of the Indian women of the past ; until they become patriots as well as the men and love the land as well as their husbands ; until the curse of early marriage is removed which makes the girl a child-wife and a mother while she should be playing with her dolls and learning in the school ; until you restore that ancient institution of Brahmacharya which forbade students to enter into the married life until the student life was over—until these things are done in India, India must remain weak as she is to-day. Until the wisdom of your sons, of your daughters, is widened to work for the greatness of the future ; until you remember that India had not only a Yajnavalkya but also a Maitreyi, a Gargi ; until you remember that knowledge is just as much the birth-right of the daughters of India as it is of her sons ; until you remember that in the old days Indian women sang parts of the Vedas to which modern Indian women may not even listen from the lips of another ; until you remember the India of the past, in order to restore what was great in her and to make her future worthy of it, India cannot rise ; until then, appeals to the past must be made, which are heart-breaking rather than tending to vanity and pride. Oh my brothers and sisters, whom I love as though I were of your own race, for whom I strive and labour in order that your land may be what it should be in the future, I appeal to you, for your children's future depends upon what you do to-day ! Your sons and your daughters, and not the grown men, I plead for, and I plead for the young ones, for those who may be great, for those who will make India what she should be. I cannot believe that India, once the mightiest of nations, shall not yet

be the mightiest constituent of that great and world-wide Empire which is being builded out of many nations to-day, the Empire to which this nation also should bring the strength of its immemorial past.

THE WORK OF THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY IN INDIA.*

BROTHERS AND SISTERS :

DURING the time when the duties of the office conferred upon me, that of President of the Theosophical Society, carried me far away to foreign lands, a good many attacks were made, some upon the Theosophical Society as a whole, some upon the Central Hindu College, as being inseparable from that Society, and with these, naturally, a good many attacks upon myself. With regard to these latter personal attacks, I do not propose to say anything at all. Personal controversy is always undesirable, and controversy is more likely to die if there is only one side to it—if I may say what is rather an Irish bull—than if both sides are present assailing each other. But wherever the Theosophical Society is concerned, and wherever the Central Hindu College is concerned, there most surely is it my duty to make defence against attack, for duties are manifold and according to the position is the duty ; the old lesson of Dharma connects together the duty and the place. Therefore, as President of the Theosophical Society, as President also of the Board of Trustees of the Central Hindu College, it would not be right that I should leave unanswered the attacks that may injure the first, and in injuring the first, also undermine the second. For

*The closing lecture of the Theosophical Convention of 1909.

the Theosophical Society in India and the Central Hindu College have much work to do in the future of the land. As both have helped—as I shall show you—to lay the foundation of the great movement which is beginning to-day to build India into a nation, so in the days to come each has a part to play, and that part will be played less effectively if untrue statements are allowed to circulate, uncontradicted, statements which have no justification either in principle or in fact.

Let us then consider what is the work of the Theosophical Society, and first, though in a few sentences only, as regards the world at large; I have to-day rather to speak of its work in India than of the duty that may elsewhere fall to its share.

The general duties of the Theosophical Society in the whole world are well marked and clear.

I. To endeavour to bring about the recognition of a Universal Brotherhood, wherein the difference of sex and race, of caste and color and creed, shall be seen as the trifling and transitory things they are, as compared with the spiritual and lasting Brotherhood which is based upon the identity in all of the Universal Self. Sexless, endless, without color, caste or race, the eternal Self embodies itself in endless varied modifications. The stone and the Deva, the tree and the man, the animal and the savage, all these are but transient phenomena of the ever-living, ever-manifesting Self; and as that Self is recognised in every land, in all conditions, and under all circumstances, then and then alone will come the recognition of the Universal Brotherhood which excludes none from its pale. And in order that that great object may be served, it is the duty of the Society in every land to revive spirituality, to

restore to every faith anything that in the lapse of time it may have lost or allowed to have become covered up on account of the ignorance of its believers ; to carry to every country spirituality in the garb of its own religion, not being wiser than the Great Ones who have given different religions to men for the helping of different temperaments and types ; working in the services of every religion ; not proselytising, no more trying to make the Buddhist or the Hindu a Christian than to make the Christian a Hindu or a Buddhist ; regarding every religion as holy, as a path to the Supreme, and humbly trying to serve the eternal verities of the spiritual life, on the knowledge of which rests the destiny of man.

II. In order that it may do this, it studies all religions to show their essential unity, and thus establish peace between them. They differ in their garments, not in their life. We compare their doctrines to demonstrate the unity of their origin. The more men of all faiths know of the faiths of others, the more will they realise the religious Brotherhood of Man.

III. It asserts the reality of the superphysical and revives the knowledge of it ; as it proves the unity of all faiths, so does it seek to justify the rites of each by showing the reality of the superphysical, for by these rites is built the bridge between this world and the worlds that lie beyond. The Society is the same in every nation ; climate does not touch it, languages do not alter it, but it brings to each religion anything it may have lost by the efflux of time. It carries the same message of spirituality everywhere in the world, but uses the language of each faith in order to help those of the faith with which it is dealing.

So far our work is clear. The only opponents will be among the more bigoted, the more narrow, the more ignorant of every faith. The liberal Hindu, or Christian, or Buddhist, or Zoroastrian, or Hebrew, or Sikh, or Jaina, will all recognise that this is good work ; but the narrow, the fanatical, those who declare that only by *their* road may man reach God, those who claim the Universal Self as the particular property of their own religion, will dislike the Theosophical Society and try to hinder its work. We leave them on one side, until they learn the wider wisdom. Yet fanaticism is better than indifference, for the fanatic of one life may become the martyr or hero of the next.

But let us turn to this great land of India, in the present and the future of which every one of us is so strongly interested. Let us glance at India as she was when the Theosophical Society came to her ; let us see whether the Theosophical Society has not had a large share in bringing about the change in India that we see on every side to-day ; for this, after all, is the point of immediate interest to raise, and it is this on which explanation and defence are needed.

Now the Theosophical Society in India consists of some five thousand men and women scattered over the country in something less than three hundred Branches or Lodges. Almost the whole of that membership is made up of English-educated men and women. We have scarcely touched the masses of the people, and in truth our work lies more with the educated ; for the religious can deal with the uneducated, if the advanced classes be enlightened and spiritual. Better to work among those who influence the masses, than in the masses themselves as regards reformation and change.

Changes should always begin above and work downwards ; then they influence powerfully and healthily ; but changes which begin in the masses tend to bring about revolutions rather than reforms. This is a small number you may say, in comparison with the population, though large regarded by itself. But it is an organised body, and that adds enormously to its power. A very small body of disciplined people is far more effective and powerful than a vast mob of the undisciplined ; and each group of these five thousand people is surrounded by a great mass of sympathisers who work with them everywhere and strengthen their power enormously, whether you think it wielded for good or harm.

So India has within her borders an organised mass of her own sons and daughters gathered under the banner of the Theosophical Society. The majority of them in India, naturally, are Hindus ; in Ceylon and Burma there is a fair number of the daughter faith of Buddhism ; there is a very considerable number among the Parsis ; very few in the great faith of Islam and that is one reason why the gulf yawns so widely between the Hindu and Muhammadan populations. If we could only win a few hundreds in Islam to become members of the Theosophical Society, a bridge would be thrown across the gulf which threatens to grow wider and wider, the gulf which is fatal to the unity of the nation, an obstacle to advancement in the future. This body of men and women then, with a few Christians also, and a sprinkling of the descendants of Abraham, our Hebrew brothers, a fair number of Sikhs, and not so many of the Jaiṇas—this makes up the composition of the Theosophical Society in India. The European element also.

cutters into it—a handful in the great mass of eastern-born bodies.

Now against the Theosophical Society two accusations are made; first it tends to revive superstition, and secondly that the Hindu Theosophists are encouraged in inertia, laziness and sloth. It is said in an article in the *Hindustan Review*: "What does 'Theosophy' stand for in the new life of India? It stands for orthodoxy, for reaction, for inactivity, for sheer inertia." The writer is a 'Pandit' but apparently identifies religion and superstition. He says that the Central Hindu College, the main object of his attack, "stands identified with 'Theosophy'."

I quite agree in this last point, and will deal presently with the nature of that identification.

But let us compare the statement as to Theosophy standing for inertia with the fact. When Mme. H. P. Blavatsky and Col. H. S. Olcott, the earthly founders of the Theosophical Society, first set foot on Indian soil what was the condition of India and of Hinduism? Scepticism and materialism had eaten out the life of the nation. The crowds of the so-called English-educated class were followers of Huxley, Mill and Spencer, and had entirely forgotten their own literature; were contemptuous of the past and hence hopeless for the future; they were copying English ways, English manners, filling their houses with English furniture to the destruction of Indian arts and crafts. They had lost all national spirit.

De-spiritualisation had brought about national degeneracy. There was no activity of national life, no pulsing of the national heart. Read the papers of the day and judge for yourselves. Even when I came to

India, Indians told me that India was dead ; they smiled sadly at my statement that India was not dead, but sleeping. She is not sleeping to-day.

In those past days of sleep accusations many and various were levelled against the founders of the Theosophical Society. They were suspected by the Government, because they accepted Indians with the social courtesies shown to equals, because they did not pay proper attention to distinctions of color, because they were trying to make the people proud of their ancient philosophy, were trying to make them aspire to ancient ideals. Everywhere the police dogged their steps and took down the Colonel's lectures, until at last the Colonel indignantly remonstrated ; and not until after a most humiliating justification on the part of each of them—showing their respective ranks in the countries they had quitted—were the police removed from their track, at least openly, and they were permitted to travel undogged by spies over India. At least at that time the Government theory was not that they were likely to increase Indian inertia.

Realising that spirituality must first be restored to its place in life, they began by the revival of religions. There was then no national life, no Congress, no Industrial Exhibitions, no idea of the unity of the Indian people. These things the young men have grown up amongst, not knowing whence they came, but among the elder generation not one of the activities was known. Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky saw that not until India recognised the value of its ancient faith could there be any bond of unity among the Indians, separated by provincial jealousies and hatreds. So they began with the revival of religion ; they pointed out the

value of Hindu teachings ; they held up the Vedas and the Upanishads as the glory of India, proclaimed the value of Indian thought and the priceless heritage of the Indian people ; until at last the Indians began once more to pride themselves on their past, and to realise that the Hindu Scriptures were not the babblings of children or the fancies of savages, but were the foundation of a mighty system, the glory of the past and the life of the future.

Both the Founders joined Buddhism, because it was the only eastern religion that would accept them, and they wanted to emphasise the value of eastern religion. Buddhism offers an open door to those who desire to come, and Colonel Olcott, with his leanings of the past to Buddhism, went into it heart and soul, Madame Blavatsky's joining was of a more superficial character. I once asked her why she had joined Buddhism and she answered : " Well my dear, I wanted to show that I thought a religion of the East was rather better than the religion of the West." This reason was quite enough for, and quite characteristic of, Madame Blavatsky. She was above all exoteric religions and valued them as far as they were true, rejecting all that ignorance had added. She became nominally a Buddhist and took Pansil. And so that great protest in favour of the superiority in spirituality of the East was made. With what result ? With the result that everywhere this revival of the religions of East began to spread ; Boys' Associations were formed by Colonel Olcott all over the land, in which the boys were helped to study their ancient faith and were taught to love and feel pride in their Motherland. There were no cries of " Bande Mataram " in those

days. The idea of a Motherland was new, and the time had not yet come. There were none to help, so that religious and moral education might be introduced into the schools. And so these Boys' Associations were formed ; the elders were told that they were already spoiled, but that the young ones might grow up properly. And we can see the difference between them and the fathers from whom they sprang. Zoroastrianism began to throw off some of the shackles of its materialistic thought ; Buddhism changed its character. A missionary lately complained that whereas formerly when a Buddhist of Ceylon was asked his religion in court he hung down his head and whispered, " Buddhism," he now holds up his head and says proudly : " I am a Buddhist " ; and he complained that this was the result of the work of the Theosophical Society in Ceylon. Gradually in that ancient Buddhist country the leaven of Theosophy has worked in transforming the inert into the active, not the active into the inert. When the Theosophical Society went there Government and Missionary schools alone existed. Now more than two hundred and twenty schools and three colleges are under Buddhist control, filled with Buddhist children who lean to reverence the Lord Buddha and to keep the precepts of the Faith. Before Theosophy went there that Buddhist country was becoming a drunken country, and much of the revenue was drawn from drink. With the revival of Buddhism by the Theosophical Society and the constant repetition of the statement in the Pansil that no intoxicating liquor might be taken, came the revival of temperance in Ceylon, until the authorities complained that they would have to find some new way of raising the money hitherto drawn from the excise.

Now how far, think you, would this revival of religion—which is everywhere granted as the work of the Theosophical Society—tend to superstition? Are religion and superstition identical? If so, then Theosophy must plead guilty to reviving superstition. But we Theosophists strenuously deny this identity, and we proclaim religion—man's search for God—as the one sure foundation for national prosperity and stability, while superstition and scepticism are alike the foes of religion, born in ignorance and alike destructive to national life. Unless all history be false, religion has ever dominated the rise and strength of a civilisation, while scepticism has ever been the sign of its coming decay. The unity of the Self is the basis of religion and of morality: when this is forgotten, the warring selves tear society into pieces. Superstition, substituting the non-essential for the essential, grows strong with the decay of religion; in vain it is assailed, in vain it is denounced, while the realities it masks are hidden. Superstition can only be destroyed by knowledge, not by abuse. Theosophy gave the knowledge. It laid stress on the things in religion which were based on natural laws, and so justified very often some old custom that otherwise would have died away. But in doing this, it has only anticipated western science. Europe is re-discovering some of these very laws, and scientific men are beginning to insist on the careful rules of hygiene and sanitation that our Manu had taught thousands of years ago. The trifling things that cannot be justified fall away, but the customs based on natural laws begin to revive. Some modern Hindus, not knowing either the ancient scriptures or modern science scoff of these observances. Why, they say, insist on the

Brahmanic superstition that the Brahmana alone should draw water from the village well, and pour it into the village pots brought for filling? And yet an English Inspector travelling through these provinces said that the custom checked disease, for you could take care of the one vessel and see that it was clean, whereas if any vessel brought perhaps from a dirty house were dipped into the well, the water would be made foul, disease would spread, and health be injured. It is silly to throw away these hygienic rules when Europe is rediscovering them. I know only one man in the West who is as careful as a Brahmana and he is a doctor. He washes his hands before he eats, and when asked the reason, he answers: "Microbes." Such rules of caring for food-vessels are not superstition; they are good hygiene; we have been blamed for justifying them, but the more you disregard them the more disease will spread. And so with many other customs and ceremonies, called superstitions by the ignorant.

I am, however, willing to grant that wherever there is a revival of religion there will be some recrudescence of superstition. So in re-lighting a smouldering fire, there will be some smoke. But the remedy for the smoke is to blow the fire into flame; then the smoke will vanish and the fire will burn bright and clear. As Theosophy spreads, the smoke of superstition will vanish, and the fire of knowledge will blaze up. But if you refuse knowledge, the smoke will continue, for men would rather have a smoky fire than none.

Let us now consider more closely this question of inertia. There is rather a long list of the ways in which Hindu Theosophists have demonstrated their inertia, their sloth, their inaction! To begin: the

first Industrial Exhibition was held in Bombay at an early Convention of the Theosophical Society, on the initiative of Colonel Olcott. Until the nation knew what it could produce, it was not possible to revive the national prosperity—so Colonel Olcott said. Hence he gathered together Indian products, and placed them in a house in which they might be seen ; and that first Industrial Exhibition was the parent of the Exhibitions now so popular all over India. The National Congress was founded by English and Indian Theosophists, working hand in-hand. The first meeting which suggested it was held at a Convention of the Theosophical Society at Adyar ; it was under the shelter of the banner of Theosophy, when Mr. Hume and others, Indian Theosophists, were present, that the National Congress took birth. And in those early days its life came from the inert members of the Theosophical Society ! It was the Hindu Theosophists who worked in the early days before the Congress was popular, later, it grew popular and strong ; but it ought not to forget the days of its infancy, when it was cradled and nursed in the Theosophical Society, until it was able to stand and run alone. And as regards the Swadeshi Movement : the Colonel preached it and I preached it when it was very unpopular ; and when everybody laughed at us, saying : “ You will never get the people of this country to care.” To princes and people I preached it wherever I went, and always from the economic standpoint. It had then no echo in Bengal. It was not until the lash fell upon them in the Partition of Bengal that Bengalis—the most anglicised of all the Indian peoples—were stirred into activity and the Swadeshi movement, as a political weapon rather than an economic reform, was

triumphantly proclaimed everywhere. But some of us, who are older and within the pale of Theosophy, remember how the seed was sown. While we admire the vigour of to-day, we do not see why the poor Theosophist should be shut out. So of that third great movement also you find the beginning in the inert Hindu Theosophists !

Then we come to the depressed classes. I cannot help remembering that outside the missionary work—and they did it more to attack Hinduism—that schools for the depressed Pariahs were founded round the Theosophical Headquarters at Adyar by Colonel Olcott, and that it was Theosophists who laboured there in order to make that education a success. Now, India is waking up to her duty to the oppressed, but this fourth great movement of the day was worked at patiently for years, before it became popular, by the members of the Theosophical Society.

Pass from this, and look at the work of temperance in India. I know that it is a disgrace that this work should be necessary, and that it has become a necessity largely from the example set by westerners. But it is an Indian Theosophist, Dr. Edal-Behram,—whose name in Surat is a symbol of self-sacrifice—who has led in Gujerat the great Temperance Crusade. Thousands of people who ate flesh and drank alcohol—the two go together—have been rescued. The initiative, as ever, came from the Theosophical impulse, and others have joined to follow where it has taken the lead.

Take the question of child-marriage. Here again, Hindu Theosophists have been much more ready to take up a reform and *carry it out* than their critics. It is many years since we formed a league within the E. S.—

attacked by those who know nothing about it—and took down the names of fathers who took a pledge not to marry their daughters until two or three years later than their caste custom demanded. They ask here, in the *Hindustan Review*, whether the Central Hindu College will give men who are physically robust. You will never have robust men with boy-fathers and girl-mothers, and if you want strong men you must let your boys and girls grow up into reasonable maturity before you put upon them the burden of bringing children into the world. And the Central Hindu College is the only institution, so far, that has dared to refuse married boys up to the eighth class in the school, and has asked for a pledge from the father not to marry the boy until he reaches the ninth class.* If those who attack us would do the same! If instead of assailing us they would imitate us, this great curse would be more rapidly removed from India. They have not attacked it as a defection from the Hindu religion. We have shown that the marriage of a student is against the Laws of Manu, who imposed celibacy on the student. If we had brought arguments from Spencer instead of from Manu, perhaps they would have approved us! At any rate the inert Hindu Theosophists have taken the lead in this great practical reform—the sixth—and have worked at it everywhere, until now there is a very general cry in its favour. It has been among Theosophists that men have been found to face the social odium of delaying the marriage of their children, who have not shrunk, in the words of our critic, “from braving the pain of new ideas.”

* The Board has just closed the upper school classes also to married boys, and has imposed double fees on married College students in the first and second year from July 1910.

With regard to girls' education, a seventh movement : we have not enough schools, but we have some ; and how many girls' schools have been opened by our critics ? I know only of one body which is energetic in this field, and that is the Arya Samaj ; they have done all they could in favour of girls' education ; but outside I do not see any other bodies who are working so hard, and I find Hindu Theosophists all over the country opening girls' schools and leading the way, as they have done in so many other cases, despite their inertia.

Now as regards religious and moral education : the Central Hindu College is the most marked institution in which Theosophists have been working, and as said by one of our critics : " You cannot disguise from yourself the fact that the Central Hindu College stands identified with 'Theosophy.'" I accept the fact. On this matter, some of our critics say we are too orthodox ; that is the idea of the *Hindustan Review* article ; the other side says we are not orthodox enough, and should put an orthodox Hindu in the place of Mr. Arundale. I do not know which of these I ought to answer ; perhaps I may be permitted to leave them to answer each other. But I may perhaps say, in passing, that you could not have any more orthodox Hindu than Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Adityaram Bhattacharya—an inert Theosophist ! I should add—who was here as the Honorary Acting Principal of the College so long as his health permitted, and on his finding the work too heavy at his advanced age, we asked him to take the post of Rector, so that he might still have a strong influence and voice in the conduct of the College. And if you can find another good Hindu, as capable and as willing to sacrifice himself as the present English Principal, I think I could find

other work for my friend George Arundale. Other proofs of Theosophical inertia are the religious examinations in several great centres ; I have given prizes for religion in Bombay in which hundreds of boys and girls have been taught and examined by Hindu Theosophists, who had given both money and time. I do not find that other bodies are willing to give the same money and time. But our inert Theosophists are constantly busy along these lines, trying to do the work while others talk about it. And then we have a number of affiliated schools. There is the great school in Alleppey; and the College in Kashmir is another due to Theosophical initiative. There are text-books issued by the Central Hindu College giving, for the first time in Hindu History, a short clear outline of Hinduism, so that the boys and girls may understand their religion—and the books have been adopted by State after State, and school after school. What right have those to criticise, who have nothing to show against these many works of the Hindu Theosophists ? Another point as to our College : it is Theosophists, both English and Hindu, who have supplied the strong staff of Honorary workers which enables us, despite the pressure put upon us, to keep down the fees. Who was the first Honorary Superintendent of the Boarding-house ? Pandit Chheda Lal, an old Theosophist. And who followed him ? Babu Rameshwar Prasad, another Theosophist. Who was the first Honorary Principal ? An English Theosophist—Dr. Arthur Richardson, who has lost health and strength in the loving service given to the College. Who is helping us, by Honorary Professorships, to keep the College an Indian one ? Professor Telang—a son of the late Mr. Justice Telang—a Hindu Theosophist ; and

Professor Dalal, a well-known Bombay chemist, also a Hindu Theosophist ; and Rai Iqbal Narain Gurtu, our Honorary Headmaster ; he indeed came to us without being a member, but he has joined the Society since, appreciating the value of the work that we have been doing. And it is the same with our honorary office-workers, who do daily drudgery : Babu Bhagavan Das, Babu Jnanendranath Basu, Babu Kali Charan Mitra, all Hindu Theosophists. I might take name after name of Hindu Theosophists—leaving out our English Theosophical workers—who have given up money, health, time and life to the work. I think that *their* work, at least, might be respected by their countrymen, until Hindu non-Theosophists can show a similar roll of honorary workers for their Motherland.

But why *any* English ? Why not ? The proof lies with the people who attack us for serving India, not with us. Love needs no difference ; only hatred needs to be excused ; the gulf between nation and nation, the antagonism between people and people, these need justification, and not the loving service freely given. And before I tell you—answering an unnecessary question—why there should be some English working among you, let me suggest that such an article as that in the *Modern Review*, entitled, " The Social Conquest of the Hindu Race," can but bring fresh fruits of sorrow, new waves of hatred from those on either side who prefer hatred and isolation to love and brotherhood. It is said that if the English work with the Indian it is on an unequal footing, and that "all the positions of trust, responsibility and social leadership are occupied by Englishmen and Englishwomen." Certainly that is not true in the Central Hindu College, nor within the

limits of the Theosophical Society. In order to make that accusation apparently stand on a ground-work of fact, a statement is made as to some pretended "Executive Committee" in 1906, but I cannot find any justification for it in our Annual Report for that year—or any other. To say that "there is no Hindu occupying an important office on the Executive Committee" is only true because there is no Executive Committee! On the Managing Committee I am the *only* non-Indian in office. I find that Mr. Arundale worked under a Hindu, Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Adityaram Bhattacharya, without any trouble. English ladies now work under a Hindu Headmaster, Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, without the least trouble. Now that Mr. Arundale is Principal, a position he has won by good service and the love of his colleagues, I find that there is not one of his countrymen to be a second Englishman in the College. It is a little hard in some ways, that we have to resist pressure which would force us to engage other Englishman in this College, and at the same time are attacked by some of our Indian brothers because there is *one* Englishman on our staff. Mr. Arundale was the one man who came forward to work without a salary as Principal, with the necessary capacity and the necessary University degree when Dr. Richardson had finally broken down, and Pandit Adityaram withdrew because of age. If any one cares to read our reports he will find Indians and English mixed up without reference to race. Even in the Athletic Association, where we might very well expect Englishmen to predominate, as the games are English, I find in this report of 1906 that the President was Mr. D. Kini, the General Secretary, Babu Kali Das Manik; Mr. A. W. Collie was

the Cricket Secretary, Babu Brij Lal Prasad was the Football Secretary, and Mr. Arundale the Hockey Secretary. The names are on a footing of absolute equality, with an Indian at the head. As regards the Governing Body I myself have been President and Chairman, because sometimes it needs an English mouth to speak out plainly. My colleague in all these long years has been Babu Upendra Nath Basu as Vice-President and Vice-Chairman, and he takes my place during my long absences. The Secretary of the Board at the beginning was Babu Govinda Das. When he had to give it up, owing to ill-health, his brother Bhagavan Das resigned his Government Service to take up the Honorary Secretaryship, as well as being first Honorary Assistant Secretary, and then Honorary Secretary to the Managing Committee, and bearing the drudgery of the office work.

It may be an invidious and ungracious thing to point to all these facts, which any one can verify, in answer to the falsehoods circulated in order to stir up strife and prevent co-operation between two nations brought together by Providence in this Indian land. But what can one do against the false but speak the true, when the false means ruin and the truth means peace?

For surely it cannot be well to circulate fabrications of this kind. To what end can they bring us? And what purpose can they serve? Let me put to you what seems to me to be the really serious matter regarding the whole of this; it means, if successful, the stirring up of strife, the rending of India, the explosion of war. I ask you why the English should not work with their Indian brothers? Why page after page in an important Review—admirably conducted save for

its wild hatred of the English—should be filled with incitements to strife? Why should every Englishman who has tried to serve India be insulted, forgetting that in the changes which have made modern India, English and Indian have worked hand-in-hand? Is there any reason for this suspicion and this hatred? There is a justification and that we, who wear English bodies, should never forget under any insult. I who wear an English body have a right to say so. There is a justification for our Indian fellow-subjects regarding the English people with suspicion, and even, perhaps, with hatred. There was so much of evil and of wrong, so much of treacherous betrayal and barbarous treatment in the past, that Indians may well suspect and hate. The memories of Clive, of Warren Hastings, and of many another have cast a dark shadow of suspicion over many and many an Indian heart. Let Macaulay bear witness, who has written the story in deathless prose. When I see suspicions rise, and read words of hatred such as these I read in this article, I say to myself: "Alas! the memory of wrong still remains, and the only way to root it out is the way of loving service, of quiet acceptance of now wrongful suspicion, until hatred is worn out by love." "Hatred ceaseth not by hatred at any time; hatred ceaseth by love." And will not you, my Indian brothers, allow the few of us in English bodies, who have given to the Motherland our love, our work and our devotion, who have for her sake forsaken the country of our birth and the friends we have left behind, will you not allow us to pour out our love at India's feet, and to give the service we count it honour and privilege to render? Will you not let us make amends for the wrongs of the past? We will bear the karma of our country; we will bear

the suspicion; we will bear the hatred ; and we will pay you back only in love and service. Even if, at the bottom of your hearts you do not trust us, even if you wrongly think that we have some ulterior motive, some personal aim, yet, for the sake of India's future, for the sake of the children of the future, who should work hand-in-hand and not in ever-perpetuated hatred and mutual wrong, forgive us what is wrong in the past of our countrymen, take us as willing offerings to make amends for the wrong. Do not drive us away until you have others to replace us ; but let us work in love and harmony, and let us help you towards that self-government, which can only come by English and Indians working hand-in-hand for the coming future and the Motherland, to make the common tie which shall bind these countries into one for evermore.

THE MEANS OF INDIA'S REGENERATION.*

THIS afternoon, my Brothers, I will try to lay before you that which many people would say is the most practical of the subjects on which I have been speaking during the last week. "The means of India's regeneration" naturally suggests the idea of a proposal of some definite kind, a proposal on certain lines which may be adopted, which may reach the national mind, encourage national aspirations, and which may enable this ancient people again to hold their place among the nations of the world. I am going to try to suggest to you this afternoon certain definite lines, which are not only completely in harmony with the ancient thought of India but are wholly inspired by the ideals which I have been striving to place before you during the last week. While, in fact, the existence of this ideal in the heart of the people is necessary in order to make them possible, they are yet, to some extent, the lines of action which may be taken by all those who work upon the physical plane, and may thus afford an outlet for their energies in dealing with the facts around them. In order that reforms may be in any sense successful, it is necessary that the ideal of which I have been speaking so much, may both be true and be accepted throughout the length and breadth of the country ; that the people should regard it as desirable. In order that the actions of Indians may be properly guided and may be inspired to activity, not only

does it need to be taught as an ideal from the platform; to be taught as an ideal through the press, but also that those who accept it should act up to it in their daily lives; that they should make it the subject of deliberation and collective thought, for that *thought* is after all the greatest force. The body is mutable, it changes; but a man's thoughts are potent, and his actions are moulded by the thoughts with which they come into contact, so that every person by thinking of that which he desires to accomplish, has really laboured for its accomplishment even more actively than those who are engaged in the outer work; for in every reform which is brought about, this agency of thought is above all things most necessary. By thinking definitely of what we desire to accomplish, we touch as it were, the very springs of action, and improvement must inevitably result. Those who are neither speakers nor writers, those who are not much able to influence their fellow-men by any personal argument, by any personal attempt, may still bring their thoughts to bear on India by a sustained and deliberate effort, by wishes for India's regeneration, and then these thoughts joining together upon the thought plane shall in due time come out into action on the external plane, and every person who takes up action shall be strengthened and inspired, and made more and more likely to succeed by those thoughts which are behind him and around him, and which thus find expression upon the outward plane of deed.

Realising then that the ideal which I have put before you is a spiritual one, that above all, the spiritual greatness of India is the first point to be considered, everything else flowing from that,—let us see by what means that may be called practical we can direct the

stream of Indian energy into certain definite channels,—channels every one of which shall be directed to a single point, and in which we may set pouring together the various streams that are to work national regeneration. Now those of you who look at the Indian Society of to-day, must see as a result of their observations, that there is a continually increasing pressure put upon two especially of the ways in which educated men must gain their livelihood. The profession of the law and that of the civil service are becoming more and more overcrowded. These are the only two avenues of livelihood for which young men are educated where they show the higher intellectual faculties. So that you will find the ablest men, the men of action, the men of intellect, in these professions, and the most promising boys, who are the men of intellect of the future, are being continually passed either into the civil service under the government, or into the profession of law,—these being the two which are the best paid of all the professions, the professions in which intelligence and will are most likely to bring the largest natural results. Now it is idle to quarrel with the tendency of an ordinary man to seek to employ his energies in the way that brings him what he regards as the best return ; you may honour the self-sacrifice as noble, that gives itself to an ideal which brings no reward in the form of wealth, but you still must needs reckon with the mere man of the world who seeks the things of the world. So that the question arises how are these energies to be directed, especially if regard is to be had to the common good, so that the various capacities of able men may co-operate towards the general advancement, having in view the object proposed—the helping of India—and

also the due employment of individuals in a remunerative way. If you realise that these two means of livelihood are becoming overcrowded, then will come the question : " Is it possible to find some other means of using the national capacity, which at one and the same time shall not only offer an opening for those who desire to be really useful to the country, but shall also afford support to men whose gifts are not so high, but who are willing to devote themselves to forms of professional employment which will give them a reasonable and fair return for their labours, and enable them to keep themselves and their families in a respectable position in society?"

Now clearly there is one form of employment available in India if we could really form a public opinion strongly in favour of it ; a form of employment which along one line would give work of the most vital importance to be done by some of the most spiritually minded and intellectual men in the country, and which in its several branches would offer a reasonable means of livelihood not only to these but also to men of average intellectual capacity, and would at the same time stimulate certain of the trades of the country as it spreads, and so would actually benefit the different classes of the community, and benefit them ever more as it spreads more widely and more deeply. Now this special scheme is that which will include every branch of activity concerned with the spreading of Sanskrit learning, in all the many directions which are possible, not only by helping the learned men employed as advanced teachers and writers but which also would help large numbers of subordinate teachers, and would link the Indian peoples more closely into one.

Of course the first part of this scheme would neces-

sarily be an attempt to found, in one centre after another in the country, Sanskrit Colleges where the teaching of Sanskrit would be in the hands of learned men *essentially* of the *Pandit* type, as opposed rather for the moment to that of the ordinary professors—I mean the men who look upon Sanskrit as a sacred study and who bring to it real enthusiasm and real devotion, as well as the idea of teaching it as a profession. Now it is true that a few such colleges do already exist in this country, but they ought to be very largely increased in number ; that increase could be easily brought about if a public opinion could be formed, sufficiently strong, which made a knowledge of Sanskrit a real necessity, so that no man would be regarded as an educated man unless a knowledge of the Sanskrit tongue formed part of his education. Those who deal at all with the question of education will be aware that *all* those who regard it thoughtfully, as a training of the powers of man—not as a mere cramming with facts—take up certain types of study as necessary for the cultivation of the higher intellectual faculties. It is not the question of training a young man so that he should learn just exactly those things, and no others, that he can turn into opportunities for wealth-gathering in after life ; the object of education is to turn out a man whose faculties shall have been trained carefully in various directions, so that he shall have acquired delicacy of thought, the power of sustained attention, the habit of mental culture, which makes all the difference between an educated and an uneducated man, and which is absolutely necessary for the advancement of the race if intellectual advancement is to form a basis for future spiritual development.

Now glance for a moment at the West, and see the changes that are going on there. For hundreds of years in the West the cultivation of these classics, Greek and Latin, was regarded as absolutely necessary for what was called the education of a gentleman, and men who were ignorant of the classics were regarded as *uneducated* ; I do not mean they had to be scholars of the comparatively small class who give the whole of their time to literary pursuits—I am speaking of the men who had no pretensions at all to stand before the world as scholars, *i.e.*, as *Pandits*, of the ordinary nobles and middle-class gentry, as they were called ; the whole of these as a matter of course were trained in the knowledge of Greek and Latin, and no man could take any high position in the country, unless he possessed this essential of a gentleman's education—a fair knowledge of the classics. For such a knowledge was always expected in ordinary discussions among men, and this training of the intellect gave a certain definite strength and refinement of thought, and what was called culture implied always a knowledge of these languages and of the great literature found in them ; and only by *such* cultivation men could be trained to rigour and delicacy of thought, and refinement and polish of expression, and therefore it was a part of every gentleman's education, and was not confined to the literary class alone. Now in England, under the stress of the struggle for existence, these languages are every day more and more falling out of general education, and you will find amongst the thoughtful people of the country the complaint that these young men who are now being 'educated' are by no means such cultured or educated men as were always found in past generations ; that

they pick up a mere smattering of knowledge, just enough to enable them to pass their examinations, and which they forget as soon as the examination is over. So that society becomes more and more frivolous and less and less thoughtful, and you get numbers of people with only average mental capacity who have little chance of ever improving it to the very best advantage because of the loss of this higher mental culture.

Now the same is true of India, only with this difference, that whereas in European countries they have used Latin and Greek as the instruments of culture, you have your own ancient language which lies at the root of your vernaculars, a knowledge of which opens out to you the grandest literature the world has yet produced. A knowledge of that literature should be incumbent upon every man who claims to be educated, on every man who hopes to hold intelligent converse with his fellows ; it is needed not only by *Pandits*, not only by teachers, not only by writers, but by every man who claims to have intelligence *at all*, who wishes it to be exercised for the sake of possessing intellectual knowledge, and not merely for the fact that knowledge may be sold for so much money. For mind you, this is a question of vital importance in the development of the race. Unless you develop the mental faculties, you cannot rise amongst the nations of the world. If your mental faculties are only directed to subjects which enable you to keep yourselves alive, then you strike at the very root of the development of your nation, and you must sink lower and lower amongst the peoples of the world. For the average intelligence is what you have to regard from the standpoint of the nation. And in order that men may be competent to meet the needs

of this country it is requisite that they should have a knowledge of Sanskrit in order to encourage the opening out of its literature, and for spreading the knowledge of what was thought by the ancient men of this country among the people at large ; so that the people shall look back to the past, and gain from the past, knowledge and experience. And by the pride which grows up in the human heart in feeling itself linked with a mighty past, all that is sympathetic in the past shall become capable of working in the future and impress on that future something of the spiritual greatness which that past has shown. Now it is clear that if it should be demanded in India that young men, taking them as a class, should be trained in this knowledge of Sanskrit, you would immediately have a demand for teachers far above anything which at present obtains and you would increase, by thousands upon thousands, the number of those who desire to learn in order that they may follow teaching as a profession and thus would increase your teaching class enormously, to meet the demands of the multiplying numbers of pupils. And so you will train up large numbers of men who will not only find their means of livelihood at once, but also their pleasure, in teaching, knowing that by their teaching they are strengthening the National Spirit, and pointing the way to the union between all cultured intelligences over the whole surface of the land. For be you sure that a common language is something more than a mere convenience ; it is a tie which binds heart to heart, mind to mind. You have the choice of two languages which might, either of them, form the common language of India. The vernaculars are different ; men of one province cannot hold converse with men of another because of this difference of language.

age which keeps them apart, more or less as strangers to each other. What is happening? At the present time the common language amongst the educated classes is a foreign tongue. The common language of the educated Bengali and the educated Madrasi is English, and this is really becoming the common tongue of India; the men of the different provinces converse in this language and use it for inter-communication, all being separated by their different vernaculars. But would it not tend far more to national feeling if you had as your common language the mother of these vernaculars? Would it not tend to more national feeling if intelligent men should naturally and readily converse in the language of the ancient books, and find themselves on one common ground, as it were, of a common mother-tongue? You should not under-value the effect of the communications which make men feel the tie of a common kindred, which make men feel as brothers instead of men of different races. You should use the language now common to the *Pandits* of all the different Indian races—Sanskrit—you should use it as a bond to bind the different races into one, so that nations conscious of a common descent should feel a desire for common work, for common co-operation at the present time. Nor is that all. The *Pandit* at the present time is educating his son not to follow his own profession but to follow that of the law or the civil service; he does not bring up his son to his own profession, knowing that that may mean for him starvation. But as this demand for a knowledge of Sanskrit increases, as I have said, larger and larger will become the number of those desiring teaching; and then *Pandit* after *Pandit* may educate his son to acquire the deeper knowledge:

which is necessary for the teacher, knowing that from it will come a reasonable source of livelihood, a definite and certain profession by which he may live in the land.

Nor again is that all. The colleges which will be founded should have two great characteristics. First, they should be endowed for the support of the teachers attached to the colleges, that is the teachers should not have to depend for their support upon the payments made by the pupils. For it is an honourable and ancient rule of Sanskrit teaching that the pupils should be taught without fees, any innovation on this ought to be resisted if you wish to keep up the revived ancient feelings ; you should not introduce the modern method of fees, which is being protested against even in the West. The teaching to students must be free. Instruction should not, be withheld because the boy is unable to pay a fee for being taught, and if some pay and some do not you introduce a vulgar money distinction between the pupils. *Every* son of India who desires to know the ancient tongue should find teaching open to him without the necessity for payment, as it was in the ancient days ; and not only so, but there ought to be provision made for the maintenance of the students, so that they may be able to pursue their studies without any anxiety, and may be able to learn in order to be fitted to teach afterwards what they have learnt. The colleges should further not' only be thus endowed sufficiently for the maintenance of *Pandits* and pupils, but also sufficient endowment should be made for providing an income for those who, being endowed with special ability to serve the Nation in this department, should be rendered able to employ their talents to build up a modern Sanskrit literature,

not wholly unworthy of the literature of the past ; that is, that there should be foundations which should support learned *Pandits* who would thus be enabled to give the whole of their time, of their talents, of their thoughts, not only to comment upon the ancient books but also to write original works which would be more and more in demand as the knowledge of Sanskrit spreads. So that you would have a class of writers, composed of some of the most brilliant brains amongst you, men who feel themselves able to influence their fellows with their pens, men who would find a way open to them to revive the past glories of the Motherland, without being subjected to starvation, or obliged to make sacrifices which only come from the noblest, and therefore only from the few. So that in this way you would be building up a foundation for teachers, a foundation for pupils, a foundation for writers, and as the pupils grew into men, a general demand would arise for a wider circulation of the ancient literature, and thus would also be benefited the trades concerned with the printing, binding, and selling of books. This demand for Sanskrit literature would grow enormous, for it would be prized by the cultivated classes that would be evolved by this system of education. So that not only those who will be educated would benefit, but you will also have a vast increase of activity which would give employment to great numbers of people in the production of books ; and in this way you would find, as in the West, great classes of labourers and of distributors who are wanted along these lines of activity and who would supply the demands of the cultivated classes which will have been brought into very active existence by the method above sketched.

But of course the question naturally arises :—" How is this to be brought about from the pecuniary point of view ?" The chief appeals should certainly be made to the wealthy Rajahs of the country, who have vast sums of money under their control, and who may well be appealed to, to spend some of it at least in introducing and helping on, the scheme. There are some men with enormous accumulations of wealth ; there are others with wealth which they waste to a very considerable extent, but who may be stimulated, from a sense of national duty to give money to found such colleges, which would rise as their permanent memorials, for the well-being of the Indian people. Surely this would be a more glorious employment for their funds than that of mere show or the raising of useless kinds of memorials ; if a man wants to perpetuate his name, if he has a desire that his name should go down to posterity, how should such a man do more wisely than found a great educational endowment, which shall go on century after century as a source of help to the Nation ? Far more glorious would be such a memorial than the empty memorial of a statue or a monument merely left behind, without any thought of duty to the nation in the future and without any thought of the welfare of the Indian people. Nor is that all. If you can form a public opinion of that kind, if you can induce some of the wealthy Princes to aid in such a national movement, I have little doubt that you would obtain support from, and the movement would be helped by the supreme Government ; and I have still less doubt that such a movement, if it were really supported by public opinion, and had the weight of the educated Indian community behind it, would receive at least the respectful

consideration of the Government that rules the nation, so that some help might come from that Government as a tribute to a national movement which ought to be encouraged by the English Government which is ruling over the land. For if you take the Government as a whole, it has a desire to do justice and it has a desire to meet the wishes of the people over whom it rules ; and such a movement, could not and would not be neglected. And this would also bring you the support of those ambitious wealthy Indians, who will help nothing that is not looked on with favourable eyes by the rulers of the day.

There is just another point I wish to put to you about Sanskrit. At the present time some of the greatest treasures of Sanskrit learning are going to England for translation, to be translated by Englishmen, by Orientalists who take an interest in these works, but who have no belief in their deeper meanings, who do not share in the religious faith which inspired them, who do not share in the philosophic views which they embody, who have no sympathy with the national traditions, and therefore who will never give the spirit of the originals, however accurately, however grammatically, they may translate them. I myself, with my limited experience, know of more than one priceless untranslated work which has been taken over to England to pass into the hands of English Orientalists for translation. Why ? Because no one could be found here to do it. One work has been thus taken over lately to England to be translated and issued at a cost of eight hundred pounds and this after a fruitless search of many months for a translator here. I ask you whether it would not be better that members of the Hindu

religion should translate these Hindu religious books themselves ; whether you think it creditable that they should be sent to the West for translation by men who do not share your beliefs and have no sympathy whatsoever with your religion ? Is it likely that translations of this kind can be true to the spirit of the originals ? Is it likely that the delicate points, the shades of thought will ever be truly caught ? Is it likely that with the aid of a grammar and dictionary, a mere comparison of book with book, that the meanings of deep religious books will be faithfully rendered, that there will be understanding of the subtle distinctions in belief, only to be found in the hearts of men who are at one with the religion itself, and are contained in the true meaning of these books ? Therefore you want to build up a class in India, educated in Sanskrit and also in English, who will be able not only to give the *spirit* of the original Sanskrit, from their knowledge of the very delicate shades of thought of the Hindu religion, but who also, possessing a sound knowledge of English, will be able to give the most accurate equivalents of the terms and not simply give the dictionary English meanings which now disfigure the translations. So that you need to have men who shall at once be masters of the Sanskrit and masters of the English tongue to translate the treasures of this ancient literature, which are now being continually sent for translation to the western world. But mind you, this desire to know the treasures of the eastern thought is beginning to grow in the West ; this desire to *know* the philosophy of India, to understand its subtleties, to realise something of its complexities of thought, is a growing demand at the present time, and you have many priceless works, which need to be translated,

in order to elicit the meaning of the books which are already in an English form. A book for instance, like the Bhagavad Gita has a very wide circulation in its English dress. Would it not be then well to circulate some of the Commentaries, as for instance, that of Sri Sankaracharya ? Would it not be well then to have an English translation of it published, so that the thoughts of the great Hindu teacher may be made known, which should throw some light upon its contents ?

And further, in this way you raise your nation, in this way again, in time, India will rule the world ; when this is done, India will be able to challenge the judgment of the educated world, and with one voice it will pronounce for the supremacy of her literature, as every one has done who has acquainted himself with it ; for there is no dissentient voice amongst Sanskrit knowing western people ; they are all of one mind as regards the value of Sanskrit literature, however much and variously ; they may disagree about special books ; there is but one opinion as to its profundity and grandeur ; and this opinion is spreading in the West, that all things spiritual come from the East. Do you suppose that when this is more widely recognised, it will not react here, that the regard and respect and admiration of the West paid to your splendid literature, will not avail to raise you as a people in the eyes of the world, by the homage of intelligent men gathered from every nation ?

Supposing then, that this Sanskrit revival takes place, and there are signs of it already, then you must remember that you need to do something for the younger boys who are entering the gates of learning, to prepare them for this higher education. Now the

great thing to do with boys in primary schools is to inspire them with enthusiasm for the Motherland, by choosing carefully the kind of books which are placed in their hands for study. First of all, you ought to encourage a study of the vernaculars that are based on the Sanskrit, and should preserve their type: for in the case of the Northern Hindus, their languages are derived entirely from the Sanskrit. But what is happening to-day to these vernaculars? More and more there is a change working; you have a vernacular, Hindi, which ought to be Hindu, becoming full of foreign terms, to the diminution of words taken from the Sanskrit. So that it is becoming less and less a Hindu language, and more and more a foreign tongue, associated with meanings and words drawn from Arabic and Persian sources. More and more the vernacular which is based upon the Sanskrit is being pushed aside and forgotten by the people, thus denationalising them still further and separating them from their most cherished and ancient traditions.

Now in regard to this question of books and teaching. The teaching in every school, to which Hindu boys are sent for purposes of study ought to be based upon the Shastras, so training the boys in the knowledge which is to guide their path in life. They should be taught the ways of Aryan morality, they should be taught the stern and rigid sense of duty, which should pervade all their character; they should be taught the meanings which are expressed in symbolism, so that whenever they are challenged in the world, they may be able to justify their own faith intellectually, by explaining it; morally, by showing purity, uprightness and blamelessness of life; and spiritually, by living *openly* a life

which aspires to the life hereafter : thus becoming Hindus in the truest and fullest sense of the word.

Then with regard to secular learning. I saw the other day in looking over some books, in a school, that they were English school books, and as I was turning over the pages, I found that though the books would have been suitable for boys in an English school, they were remarkably inadequate for the boys of an Indian one. For the information on geography, productions, natural objects, &c., which was given about India, was absolutely out of all proportion in comparison with the information given about European nations. Now if you take a primary book in an English School you will find that it deals mainly with England : its history, geography, products, industries, trades, and so on. But here the boys are taught much about England, and very little are they taught about their own country. The book gives a Hindu boy details of English towns—now what is the use of that knowledge to him ? And he is left without any knowledge of the detailed history and geography and products and industries of his own country, where the whole of his life is to be spent, and to which his thoughts should ever be turned. The foundation of an intelligent knowledge of his own country, should primarily be laid in every boy's mind, and the knowledge of other lands later, when that about his own has been mastered. Press upon the educational department the use of books relating more to India and the peoples of India, which shall give their history at greater length and the history of other nations more briefly. The history and geography of India should be soundly taught, and the acquiring of a wider knowledge may be left to those who have the time and inclination

to pass on to higher schools. It is but just that the poor Indian boys should learn the history of their own land, rather than that of lands with which they will have nothing to do in the course of their lives. I have seen a boy give quickly the name of the capital of Switzerland, and hunt confusedly in the South of India for Kashmir. What sort of a national education is that? Try to change it and make a public opinion which will call for this change as regards their work of primary education.

Thus, passing on, now rouse the boys to enthusiasm and pride by the history of Ancient India; tell them of that. Tell them how India was really great, cultured, full of piety; tell them all the wonderful tales which are to be found in the ancient literature, tales enforcing the noblest morality; so that they may grow up thinking of India with pride and devotion, and longing to do their share in serving the nation, because the nation is worthy of all sacrifice and service. Enthusiasm in the young is easily aroused; teach them what will fire their hearts; for the young are touched and moved easily by noble ideals, and if you give them anything to touch their hearts, if you give them anything to move their enthusiasm, if you familiarise them with the past history of their own country, if you wake their devotion to their national faith, the time will come when they will turn away from the West to the Motherland. And these boys, grown into men, shall be bound with every bond that can link the Indian to his home and from such men will come the salvation of India.

Pass from this ideal of education, which might breathe through India the breath of a new life, to another line of work, which is one of serious importance to a

caste on the regeneration of which depends much of the hope of India's regeneration. It would be well to establish throughout the country organisations such as those which are actually at work in the Punjab, for helping and training the sons of Brahmans in sacred learning and in the intelligent discharge of religious rites. The organisations are called "Brahman Sabhas," and their objects are stated to be : "To encourage the Brahmans to learn Sanskrit, '*Dasa Karma Vidhi, Sanskara Vidhi*' and to endeavour to ameliorate the condition of the Brahmanical religion." Every member is bound to learn Sanskrit, to regularly perform the daily rites of *Nitya Karma*, and the ceremony of the investiture with the sacred thread, strictly in accordance with the *Shastras*, at the proper age, with the proper rites. Each Sabha should have a School attached to it for teaching Sanskrit, the daily rites, and *Sanskara paddhati* to the sons of Brahmans; a committee of pandits should examine the school annually, and grant certificates to the students who pass. Only those Brahmans should be permitted to officiate at religious ceremonies who hold these certificates and none others. Other important rules run:

"Each Brahman shall be bound to teach Sanskrit to his children."

"The Brahmans acting as priests shall be bound to perform the required ceremonies strictly according to the *Shastras* and with sincere devotion, even if the *Yajman* be poor and unable to spend much money."

"If the *Yajman* be a Brahman, and do not desire to have the religious ceremonies performed with a sincere faith, the priest shall decline to officiate, and on his refusal no other Brahman shall officiate for him."

"Students from the city, or outside, who are poor and have no means of support, shall be fed and taught by the Institution."

Such Sabhas would do very useful work by encouraging well-instructed priests, and also by putting an end to the exactions of disputing priests, especially at places of pilgrimage where many scandalous things occur, from time to time, from the sheer greed of gain. Information about the Sabhas may be obtained from Rai B. K. Laheri, Ludhiana, Punjab.

Useful also are the Sabhas for Hindu boys and students, started by Col. Olcott, President of the Theosophical Society, and now multiplying rapidly through the country. They are designed to give Hindu boys the strength that comes through association, throughout the period of School and College life, a period so dangerous to their religious faith under present conditions. The boys bind themselves to speak the truth, to live chastely and perform their religious duties, according to the *Shastras*. The Sabhas are united into a Hindu Boys' Association, founded at the end of 1894, which issues a boys' journal monthly. Information about this can be obtained from the Secretary of the Theosophical Society, Benares.

Those who, like myself, desire the maintenance of the Caste-system, in its ancient four-fold order, would do well to consider the advisability of getting rid of some of those restrictions which are indefensible on any ground of reason or religion, and which interpose rigid barriers between members of the same Caste, preventing intermarriage and so on. Sri Sankaracharya, the successor of the great Teacher of that name and the present head of the Sringeri Matha, has already declared himself in favour of marriages between members of the same great Caste, who are separated only by the artificial walls of sub-divisions. Such a reform would

greatly strengthen the Caste-system against its assailants, and it therefore deserves thoughtful consideration.

The next point is the building up of the entire Indian nation, by the encouragement of national feeling, by maintaining the traditional dress, ways of living and so on, by promoting Indian arts and manufactures, by giving preference to Indian products over foreign. Now this is a point which really goes to the very root of Indian revival. Do not under-value the importance of sentiment, and do not try to do away with everything which differentiates India from other lands ; rather strive to maintain the immemorial customs and follow the immemorial traditions, instead of trying to look as little Hindu as possible, as many of you are inclined to do. It is true, of course, that these are outside matters, but they have a very real effect on the generation and maintenance of national feeling. Take clothing and habits of life. There is no question that the Indian dress is the most suitable for the climate, it is healthy, it is beautiful ; when then give it up ? I know it cannot be worn while a man is engaged in certain vocations and that he is compelled to wear English clothes while working in offices where the dress of western nations is compulsory. Now that is a thing which you cannot help ; but what you can help is the carrying on of these foreign clothes into private life ; the westernising of dress in the home as well as in the law-courts, in the home as well as in the office. This is not only folly, but a mistake as well. If Englishmen out here were wise they would adopt the Indian dress, instead of which we have Indians adopting the English dress at a possible risk to health. The western man has to face a severer climate, and to bear

a severer cold. In the Indian dress it would be utterly impossible to live in England, for men would simply die of the cold. But here, the wearing of it is simply absurd. There is nothing whatsoever to be said in favour of it, for it is absolutely ugly. If Englishmen would go back two hundred years and use the dress then worn, there would then at least be an artistic defence, for the dress then worn was beautiful, as compared with the peculiarly hideous clothing now worn, and which seems so much to attract the average young Indian mind. Now the matter is not simply a matter of sentiment ; it is really a matter of health, of convenience and of economy ; for the Indian dress is suited to the Indian climate, not only because it is light, but also because its material can go through water daily, and so is far more suitable to a hot country than the cloth coat and trousers which are worn unwashed over and over again. Considered as a mere question of hygiene in a hot climate, clothes which come into daily contact with water are eminently desirable. There is no reason, no common sense, which should make the Indian lay it aside, when the experience of thousands of years has shown it to be the best kind of dress for India. But it is not only that. The inner feeling and outer expression often go together, and he who westernises his outside attire is very likely to grow western *inside* as well, and therefore, instead of strengthening he really tends to weaken his Motherland. Then again question of economy comes in. Clothing which fifty years ago cost very little, is now a serious drain upon the purse. Then, dress was simple, dignified without being costly, save among the wealthy and the ruling classes. Ordinarily it was a simple dress,

which did not make any marked distinction between the rich and the poor in the *same* caste, and was suited to the wants of the people. Suppose a man was learned but poor, he was not looked down upon for his simple dress, but in his pure white clothing, he could make his way into every wealthy house in the land. Dress was not then, as it is to-day, a question of social appreciation ; and the increase in expenditure upon it means a heavy addition to the already large burden on many families, in the ever-increasing struggle and competition brought into eastern life by the adoption of western methods. Again to the ordinary Hindu this westernising process means a far greater demand upon him in other matters than that of clothing ; for not only does it mean a change of dress, but it also means an increase in the number of meals, a change in their character, increase of wants in furniture and so on, until if you work it out, you will find that it means a greatly increased cost of living.

See the benefits I told you of yesterday, of simplicity of life. I did not mean asceticism by that. I did not mean to say that men of the world should lead the life of asceticism. I did not mean to say that men should live as Yogis in jungles or under trees, but I did mean that they should lead a rational, a simple life with all the noble characteristics of the ancient times ; that their houses should have the old simplicity and not be overcrowded with a multiplicity of things of foreign manufacture.

And this leads me to the next point ; namely, that it is the bounden duty of every patriotic Indian to encourage Indian art, Indian manufactures and Indian labour ; and not to go across the seas to bring here

endless manufactured articles, but to give work to his own people. Let all encourage Indian manufactures and arts, and use Indian-made goods in India. Indian art has gained a name all over the world because of its beauty and artistic finish, and why should men who have such art on their own soil, why should they go and buy the shoddy productions of Birmingham and Manchester, why should they cast aside the labour of their own countrymen, why should they purchase foreign goods instead of home-made, and encourage bad art instead of good? There is really no excuse for leaving Indian National Art to perish, for this is an important thing in a nation's well-being, and especially the encouragement of all those forms of art which depend upon the delicacy of the human faculty, refine the people at large and increase the material progress of the nation. Why, if you take some of the foreign manufactured goods and compare them with the Indian, what do you see? You find that, in the Indian, the colours are most delicately graduated and blended giving an exquisite softness of shading to the Indian carpet, and this is the result of generations of physical training in sense of colour; while in the carpet of foreign manufacture, it is harsh and crude, and there is no need to print upon it, "manufactured in Germany," for you have only to look at its colouring to know it is not Indian. You are therefore injuring your own beautiful national art by using inferior goods of foreign make, and extinguishing Indian trade by continuing to encourage foreign goods, to the impoverishment of India and to the throwing of Indians out of employment. Look also at the large prices the people in England are ready to pay for Indian art objects. I urge you therefore to support your

own labourers, thus strengthening your manufactures and arts, and laying a sound material foundation for national wealth. The strengthening and developing of these Indian industries is the work to which *Taishyas* should devote themselves, for that is the work essentially belonging to their caste, on which of old the material welfare of the nation hung. You would also have coming to you constant demands from foreigners who purchase Indian goods because of their beauty. And we must press upon wealthy men that instead of sending to England to buy costly furniture, they should spend their money at home in encouraging the arts which are around them in their Motherland, so that a public opinion may be formed which would cry "shame" upon a Prince or Rajah, who filled his palace with foreign articles instead of having them produced in his own country, so that his wealth should add to the comfort and happiness of the people and strengthen the national prosperity. These would awaken a sense of nationality, filtering down from the higher to the lower, regenerating the nation, and striking its roots deep down into the physical lives of the people, uniting all India ; binding all India together closer and closer and closer, till her oneness is realised, till Indians recognise in themselves a people. See in the *Ramayana* how all the arts and handicrafts flourished, and how prosperity and happiness abounded among the people on every side, for the masses need physical comfort ; they are not developed to the point of finding wealth in *thought*. These ideas should appeal to your reason and claim your judgment, for they are practical lines of working out a material regeneration, and deal with those concerns which the people at large can understand. The growing poverty of India is a

matter you must reckon with, for you are already feeling the pressure of the struggle for existence and that pressure must increase if you continue to feed its causes.

But remember that these physical means of regeneration cannot succeed unless they flow down as the lowest manifestations of the spiritual ideal that I have been setting before you, for they all have as aim the unifying of India, and that unifying must be founded on and permeated by a spiritual life, recognised as the supreme good, as the highest goal. Everything else is to subserve that, no matter how much material prosperity and wealth are needed for the encouragement of weak and undeveloped souls.

There is one other matter on which I must touch—the unification of religions, which can be done nowhere if it be impossible here. The glory of ancient Hinduism was its all-embracing character, its holding up of the perfect ideal, and yet its generous inclusion of all shades of thought. Under the wide tolerance, philosophies and religious sects grew up and lived in amity side by side, and all phases of thought are found represented in the different Indian schools and the numerous Indian sects. This gives to Hinduism a unique position among the religions of the world. Therefore an effort should be made to draw into amicable relationship the religious bodies that went out from Hinduism, and have become oblivious of, or hostile to, the root whence they sprang. The Zoroastrians—the modern Parsis—have a noble and philosophical religion, holding the essential truths of all spiritual religions. This religion has become sadly materialised, and its adherents, in too many cases, have no idea of the deep meaning that underlies the ceremonies they so ignorantly perform. Alas! this

materialising process has affected the masses in all religions; the more reason that the fundamental unity should be proclaimed by those who see spiritual truths, and that the daughters who have married into other families should not utterly forget their mother's home but should recognise their descent and let love replace hatred.

And so with Buddhism. This also is a daughter of Hinduism, but at present the estrangement is too sharp, and has been caused very largely by misunderstandings. In the Buddhism of Tibet and China the ancient traditions have been preserved, and the Hindu gods and goddesses are worshipped under other names—sometimes even under the same names. *Mantras* are used, *Japa* is performed, many religious rites are the same. And in the great philosophical system, but little known, which is expounded in the *Adhidhamma*, I am told, there are found the metaphysics and the spiritual profundity so deficient in popular Buddhism. Nor is it lacking on the esoteric, the occult side; in the definite training of the soul in Yoga. And the Siddhis are required by the Buddhist ascetic as by the Hindu. No division exists in that inner region. Why should it not be recognised that the Hindu social system—which is the chief point of difference—while invaluable as a type to the world, and to be maintained and cherished by all true Hindus, is not suitable to many other nations, and that religious intolerance is no part of Hinduism. A true Hindu nation in its fourfold order would be the Brahman of Humanity, the spiritual Teacher, the channel of Divine Life to the world. But other castes as well as the Brahman are necessary in a nation, and other social forms as well as the Hindu are necessary in the world. If India could be regenerated, if India

could be purified, if India could be re-spiritualised, then the nation as a whole, with her spiritual faculties, her intellectual powers, her ideally perfect social organisation, would stand forth in the eyes of the world as the priest-people of Humanity standing before the Gods in her collective capacity, fitted to be Their mouth-piece to the world. That is the destiny to which India was appointed, when she was peopled by the first men of the Fifth Race, and her religion and her social system were founded by the Rishis that she might serve as the model for that Race. Shall she ever again so serve? Shall she ever again rise from her present degradation, and fulfil the sublime charge laid in her hands? Who may pierce the darkness of the future? Who may read the scroll of destiny? This alone is sure, that no *other* future may be for her; that it is either this or death; and that it lies wholly with her children to give back to Humanity the India which may be the Saviour of Spirituality to the world.

UNITED INDIA.*

THE FOURFOLD PATH.

IN the memorable letter addressed on February 1, 1885, to Mr. B. M. Malabari by the venerated Mr. A. O. Hume, the Father of the National Congress, Mr. Hume laid much stress on the necessity of union among the Reformers on each line of progress. He speaks, and rightly speaks, of "the Great National Cause" as one, and urges the danger of premature specialisation, speaking of "isolated crusades" against particular abuses as having "a distinct tendency to intensify that sectarianism in Reform, which, as I have already said, seems to me the chief obstacle to progress." He argues that the "method of thus attacking particular branches of a larger question, as if they could be successfully isolated and dealt with as distinct entities, is calculated to mislead the public, to confuse their conceptions of proportion, to entail loss of power, and intensify what seems to me at this present moment to be the most serious obstacle to real National progress." All the lines of Reform should be "mere optional sections of a general enterprise." "The earnest and unselfish labourers for progress in this country constitute but an infinitesimal fraction of the population, a fraction that becomes absolutely inappreciable if further subdivided. If, then, any real results are to be achieved,

* Reprint from the *Indian Review* for October, 1913.

there is a Congress Committee, a Mahajana Sabha, a Hindu Social Reform Association, a Depressed Classes Mission Society, a Servants of India Branch, an Aryan Young Men's Association (with Social Reform among its objects), a South Indian Association, a Marriage Reform Association, various clubs, and a Theosophical Society—which gives workers and officers to many of these and supports five successful schools for the depressed classes in Madras itself—and all these, with the exception of the first two, work on separately, each doing its own little isolated work, and, again with one exception, the Theosophical Society, looking more or less coldly on the labours of the rest.

Must this always continue? May we not all be gathered together under one great banner, one army of progress marching towards one objective with diversities of methods but with one common aim—the building of a nation, the creation of a United India? Is this too much to hope for? Surely not, if the leaders of educated India will take their proper place at the head, and welcome in brotherly fashion all workers who are ready to labour in any—one or more—of the great divisions of Reform, who will sink all divisions of caste and colour for India's sake, and will recognise that, in India, Indians should lead.

I have mentioned here the Theosophical Society, and should say something in explanation of its position. It includes among its members persons of all creeds and all opinions, free-thinkers and orthodox, individualists and socialists, reformers and anti-reformers. Its *only* common ground is to form a nucleus of universal brotherhood, without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste or colour, to encourage the study of comparative religion,

philosophy and science, and to investigate unexplained laws of nature and the powers latent in man. Every member is absolutely free to hold his own opinions and to promulgate them, and to work along any line which he regards as consistent with universal brotherhood. The result of this is that, under the varying laws and customs of the many countries in which it is established, its members work individually or in groups for all objects which seem to them to be good, but the Society, as a whole, is not committed to approval of their opinions and labours. As Colonel Olcott once wrote, speaking of various movements: "As a society we abstain from meddling with them, though as individuals we are perfectly free to plunge into the thick of either of the fights that they occasion." Its general influence is to spiritualise and rationalise the various religions to which its members belong, and to induce them to regard each other with mutual respect: to provide a body of workers filled with the enthusiasm of humanity, who are ready to work for any cause which improves the conditions of the community to which they belong. Those of them who agree with the Theosophical teachings on evolution consider that we are approaching great religious, social, and political changes, and they are eager to work for all reforms which lead towards a more brotherly condition of society, in which education shall be universal, co-operation shall replace competition, knowledge and character shall be the conditions of authority, and power shall be the measure of responsibility.

In a society so free from fetters, it is inevitable that strong individualities shall gain large followings and wield an influence limited only by their own capacity to win and hold it. Against this, in a free Society, it is

idle to protest. The allegiance paid to such people is entirely voluntary ; they reign by an inner " Divine Right " ; they rule by love and power. But none such can commit the Society to his views ; they come and go, and the Society remains. Those who are, in any country, seeking to improve its conditions, will, if possessed of any insight and statesmanship, utilise their services where they would forward their own objects, and leave them alone where they do not.

The work done by the Theosophical Society in India, has had, as a general result, the revival of the Eastern faiths, the checking of the destructive effect of missionary zeal, the establishment of an Indian ideal of education, the inspiring of self-respect in Indians, of pride in their past, evoking hope in their future, and the creation of the national spirit now throbbing throughout the land. The late Editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* wrote, in welcoming the Founders, on May 8th, 1879 :

What can the doctor do when the patient is already stiff and cold ? India is dead to all sense of honour and glory. India is an inert mass which no power of late has yet been able to moveIndia has no heart, and those of her children who have yet any portion of it left have been deadened by blank despair. Talk of regenerating India to the Indians ? You might as well talk to the sands of the sea.

I remember how in India I cried in 1893 : " India is *not* dead. She is not dead, but sleeping." India is now awake.

The National Congress, the mother and the trainer of India's future Parliament, had its inception in the Theosophical Society, as the late Norendranath Sen, present on the occasion, and one of the preliminary committee, related in the *Indian Mirror*. He wrote :

One of the most successful of the Annual Conventions of the

Theosophical Society was held at Adyar, Madras, during the Christmas week of 1884. The delegates who attended the convention were most of them men who, socially and intellectually, are the leaders of the society in which they move in the different parts of the country. When the convention closed, and the delegates broke up to return to their homes or to every-day work, a dozen or so of their number, as well as a few Madras Hindu gentlemen, met by private arrangement at the home of one of the best known and most esteemed citizens of Madras. The first programme of the Congress was drafted and the organisation sketched out.

The Provisional Committee was formed at this meeting, and it is interesting to note, among the names, that of the "Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer," still with us, and that of the late Hon'ble K. T. Telang, whose eldest son is a devoted worker in our ranks.

Another paper remarks on this :

There can be no doubt that Theosophy first sowed the seeds of a rapid nationalisation, if not of an unqualified unification of the different races inhabiting India.

With this behind us, and much else that is well-known, is it unreasonable that I should stretch out my hands to India's leaders and say : "Judge us by what we have done, and allow those of us who agree with your educational, social and political ideals to place at your service what we have of influence in India and in England, our time, our speech, whatever of gift we have to lay at the feet of the motherland. Some of us disagree with you ; leave them alone ; but, as practical men, as statesmen, do not reject those of us who are willing, nay eager, to work with you." For myself, because of the social changes coming more swiftly than I had expected, I do here what I have already done in England, and throw myself into preparation for the coming of the New Order. But.

of course, I speak only for myself and those who follow me as their leader : I cannot speak for the Theosophical Society as a whole, which includes, as I have said, people of the most diverse opinions on religion, sociology and politics.

The two main objections raised to the Society by some of the political and social leaders are : (1) that it encourages superstition : (2) that in India it endorses caste.

(1) The society does not encourage superstition, but in its work of the revival of religion there has inevitably been a certain small recrudescence of superstition. In lighting a fire, there is always some smoke. The revival of religion was imperatively necessary, for, save in a few elect spirits, self-sacrifice is inspired only by religion. Besides this the heart of the people cries out for God, and in India this is pre-eminently so. Here, no great popular movement can be made without the help of religion. Even in France, where scepticism had triumphed, the deterioration of literature to uncleanness, of art to sensuality, of patriotism to self-seeking, brought about such a revulsion of feeling that the youth of France has now turned its back on materialism and its face to idealism. In India, where religion has been at its sublimest and philosophy at its profoundest, no movement can succeed in which religion is contemned. Religion is based on the divinity of man, is the uprising of the individualised human-spirit to his source in the Universal; at their peril do political and social leaders ignore this tendency, disregarding all the warnings of history. Superstition is a danger : but this danger must be surmounted by substituting a spiritualised religion, which recognises and explains those gropings of the human

spirit after spiritual realities which lead to superstition if they are not met by knowledge. The human heart is ever hungry till it finds its refuge and its rest in the Eternal Father. Let our political and social workers who cannot meet this hunger, and who can only offer a stone instead of bread, leave this part of the work to the Theosophical Society, which lifts people out of superstitions by showing the kernel of truth which vitalises them, which feeds the hungry heart with the bread of the Eternal Wisdom, and then sends out into the world men and women with their hearts at rest, full of eagerness to serve, bidding them work in the vineyard of the Nation and sacrifice themselves to the coming United India. Is not the absence of the willingness to sacrifice, the weak point in too many social reformers, who speak against child-marriage at conferences and then find special reasons for marrying their own girl-children? In our Theosophical League against child-marriage, our members have delayed the marriage of their daughters against all caste and home pressure ; should not these be welcomed as allies ?

(2) The endorsement of caste. In this, as I am the worst offender, I make no apology for a personal explanation. Finding that the enormous majority of our members in India were in caste, I recognised this fact, and have personally worked to widen caste, to render it more flexible, to get rid of all recognition of sub-caste in dining and marriage, rather than roughly to destroy. At the Central Hindu College, while my influence was paramount, we gradually eliminated all sub-caste distinctions, and had students of the four castes taking their meals on a single platform, divided only by ceremonial lines. The whole influence was towards union, but

towards union by persuasion, not by coercion. If a boy's father demanded separation, we always gave it ; if ten boys wanted a separate cook, we provided him ; but requests of this sort diminished and finally ceased. There was a steady pressure towards unity, with a recognition of the four great castes. In my lecturing work, I explained the origin and the use of caste in the past : I showed how it had formed a nursery for souls coming into the world at various stages of evolution and how caste-dharma had subserved evolution ; I pressed on my audiences that caste imposed duties, and that caste privileges were intended only to protect the performance of those duties, I urged those who valued caste to purify it by their personal performance of their caste-dharma : I pleaded for the old flexibility, and the transference of a man to a higher caste than that in which he had been born, if he showed the possession of the qualities of that higher caste ; I prayed my hearers to see in the ancient system the recognition of elders and youngers in a family, and not the harsh barriers of class in a state. From 1893 to 1905 I worked on these lines, but, while liberalising many, I found that the mass remained unmoved. In 1905, I sounded a note of warning, for after eleven years the result of my work was insignificant. I knew that while caste had had a splendid past, its utility was practically over, and that it had no place in the coming civilisation. Hence, in the convention lectures of 1905, I spoke of it : " Dharma has decayed : caste-confusion is here. . . . What has become of the Dharma of caste ? It has vanished, as Arjuna feared it would." And then I made the following appeal to some, at least, to perform " the inborn duty," so as to bridge over the gulf between the old order and

the new. Here is what I said (I have italicised the passages to which I want to draw special attention) :—

There was a plan to be worked out, in which Arjuna was an actor, to which his eyes were blind. He was under a delusion : confused, perplexed, he would not see ; and that great plan that had to be worked out was changeless ; nothing that Arjuna could do would alter it, no resistance of his might avail to make it different from what it was. He was to understand that forms lose life, but that the spirit dieth never, and that *when the work of the form is over, it is well that it should be shattered into pieces ; that only when the spirit shapes for itself new forms can the larger unfolding take place.* He who hesitates to destroy the form when its work is done knows not the power of the life that is the builder, and shall continue to build in days to come.

None the less it is true *that in the crash of systems whose work is over*, it is those who perform the Sahajan Dharma—the inborn duty—who serve as the bridge from the old order to the new. Those who understand the necessary progression of events, *those who know that forms must break when the new forms are ready for birth*, those who steadfastly perform the dharma of the older forms into which they were born *although they know them to be dying*, until the new are ready, *form the bridge over which the ignorant may walk in safety amid the crash of a falling system, into a new system prepared by the Spirit that ever renews the life and builds new forms.* So that Arjuna had to do his duty, no matter what the outcome might be, no matter what the result ; and, strangely enough, the man who was chosen for this great duty—to be the bridge to the new order—was one in whose own family this very same fact of caste-confusion was very definitely manifested.

That appeal also failed. And now, in 1913, it is time, to say, that while the caste system has a glorious past, its work is over, and it must pass away. The new form of the Indian Nation is ready to be born ; the hour of travail is upon us. Let the old form, which is dead, the corpse from which the spirit of Dharma has departed, be carried to the ghat and burnt, with the reverence and

tenderness due to the services rendered in the past. And let all lovers of New India, of United India, to be born of India the ancient Mother, help Her through the throes of the birth-hour, and make as easy as may be the transition from the old order to the new.

WHAT, NOW, AS TO THE FUTURE ?

There are four main divisions into which Indian Reforms should, I submit, be classified, and, if the suggested unification should take place, each division should form a department in the Reform Movement. These are indicated by Mr. Hume in one of the passages quoted above ; he names five : philanthropic, educational, spiritual, social and political. The first may be eliminated as it is not part of the army of progress ; it is the Red Cross Service—the ambulance corps, the doctors, the nurses. They help the wounded, they nurse the maimed, and all honour and gratitude are due to them for their precious and charitable work. They minimise by their mercy the evils of the present conflict, they save the derelicts of our civilisation who fall on the field of battle ; but the army is marching forward to the conquest of the Land of Promise, to abolish the evils which the Red Cross can only minimise. Philanthropy is, in truth, needed to relieve the heart-breaking poverty, but we look for a day when, in its present forms, at least, poverty will no longer exist. There remain as the four departments in which Reform is urgently needed : Religion, Education, Sociology, Politics.

RELIGION.

In this department we must work for the substitution of the Inner Ruler for the outer authority, for the substitution of knowledge for credulity. A man's religion

must be self-determined, not inherited ; in his childhood and youth, the common truths of all religions should alone be taught to him in the wording of his parents' faith, with such ceremonies as enter into the life of the family, sweetening and beautifying it. But with regard to these he should be taught, as he begins to think, that they vary in different religions, and are to be regarded as symbolical helps, bridges from the seen to the unseen, which take different forms in different religions, and that the form is unimportant.

This work will more and more be done in all countries by Theosophy, which makes no difference between religions, but regards them as branches of a single tree. To the Theosophist, the Hindu and the Mussalman, the Hebrew and the Christian, the Parsee and the Buddhist, are all equally brothers in the faith, welcome and beloved. But in India, to-day, these faiths are barriers between those who ought to be co-workers in the educational, social and political fields, and seeing this, many "practical" men seek in the absence of religions the unity which religions prevent. It is a natural, but shortsighted policy. It is as though humanity should sink into subconsciousness instead of rising into super-consciousness, should retrograde into the savage instead of evolving into the genius. Theosophy teaches its members to rise into a unity which recognises in the variety of religions a chord instead of a dissonance, and regards the full chord as richer than the monotone. May not Theosophy, then, be permitted to exert this unifying influence, and to send into the fields of educational, social and political work religious men, men of self-sacrifice, who find in religion a stimulus but never a barrier ? Let me illustrate this by an example from education.

EDUCATION..

I formulated a scheme for an Indian University, the Board of Trustees formed of leading men of the great faiths existing in India. It was well on its way, when the Aligarh University was mooted. My Mussalman Trustees left the general scheme for the denominational. My Hindu members, when the Hindu University scheme sprang up as a counterblast to the Mussalman, feared that the wider scheme would meet with no support in the clash of denominational parties. I withdrew it, and agreed to the handing over of the Central Hindu College to the proposed Hindu University. None the less, the wider scheme would have served United India as the denominational schemes will not.

For workers in the Educational field there is room and to spare. The harvest is ripe, but the reapers are few. Universal Education is the watchword, and a graduated scheme, leading from the village school up through secondary and High Schools to the University, should be formulated. Education of boys and girls is absolutely necessary for the social life of the future. Differences of caste may be unreal, but differences of refinement of culture, of social manners and customs are real. Differences of employment are unimportant, but ignorance and knowledge cannot meet with mutual enjoyment save as pupil and teacher. They jar on each other, and jarring destroys social pleasure. Indian Reformers can do little without universal Education ; it is the lever whereby the depressed classes must be raised, the untouchables made touchables, the unclean made clean, the barbarian turned into the man.

Educational Conferences, in which practical discussions may be carried on by teachers, assisted by those

who have mastered the many educational systems now in vogue, should form part of the general Reform Movement.

SOCIOLOGY.

Here is the thorniest, the most difficult field of reform, the one in which the greatest tolerance is required. I venture to submit a few heads, to be added to by others.

1. *The Encouragement of Foreign Travel.*—This is essential, if India is to take her due share in the government of the Empire. Knowledge of lands other than his own is essential for the statesman. India is to be no isolated country : she is to make her voice heard in the Councils of the Empire, and she must know that which she is to help in guiding. There are scores of other reasons, but this is fundamental.

2. *The abolition of child-parentage and thereby of virgin-widowhood.*—This is essential, if the physical vigour of Indian manhood and womanhood is to be restored, and if old age is not to begin at fifty. With this, virgin-widows would cease to exist. As regards remarriage, men and women should be left individually free, while considered as subject to the same custom. If widowers remarry, why not widows ? It is manifestly absurd that a widow of twenty should be assigned to perpetual widowhood, while a widower of fifty, who has burned three wives, should take a child of nine as a fourth. " Let mutual fidelity continue unto death " is an exquisite ideal, and deep love renders such fidelity inevitable. But for much-married men to condemn once-married girls to perpetual celibacy is at once grotesque and unjust.

3. *The recognition of the death of the caste system.*—This inevitably follows on foreign travel, and on the social

intercourse demanded by modern conditions. Indians subject to caste restrictions cannot take their due part in national and international life. Intermarriage and interdining are corollaries.

4. *The abolition of the seclusion of women.*—To anyone who comes freshly face to face with the perpetual imprisonment of half the higher class population of India, the position seems intolerable. Knowing, as I do, the happy lives led in many Indian homes, I, none the less, must emphatically say that this shutting up of women is unworthy of civilisation. Indian men do not deserve to be free politically, until they give freedom socially to Indian women. I know that the difficulty lies more with the women than with the men, but husbands can, if they choose, gradually win their wives to a wider life, and fathers can educate their daughters for the dignity, responsibilities and duties of social freedom. Here again foreign travel is doing its work, and is teaching Indians something of what they lose by the enforced seclusion of the women of India.

5. *The uplifting of the Depressed Classes came under Education.*

6. *The abolition of the colour bar.*—The mischievous separation of social classes by a colour bar is one of the most fruitful sources of annoyance and resentment among educated Indians. They are not treated as equals, whatever the pretence. In social gathering they gravitate together, while the white people do the same. Individual friendships, though rare, exist, but of social equality there is none, save in gatherings of the Theosophical Society, wherein men and women, coloured and white, sit, eat, chat together, without one trace of any sense of difference. Both must co-operate to make this

general ; we must walk, drive, talk, without thinking of colour, treating each other on a footing of perfect social equality, *forgetting* colour.

Colour must disappear also in all questions of appointments, and fitness must alone be considered. Every office should be open to Indians, without exception, and in the official, as in the social world, all must become colour-blind.

7. *The saving of Village Industries and the economic value of Craft Associations.*—For the material prosperity of India, this is one of the most vital reforms needed. It is to the decaying, but still existing, craft associations that we should look for the preservation of the admirable artistic handicrafts of India. Efforts are being made in the West to transplant some of these, while here, in their native land, they are slowly perishing. The aiding of these associations by co-operative banks—if necessary by Government loans through district officers—is of immediate and vital importance. These craft associations form little communities in which capital and labour work together instead of in antagonism, and the industrial system of India would be economically sounder, and, for the people, infinitely happier and healthier, if it were built up from these as a basis, instead of on the introduction of the large machinery factory, with all its inevitable adjuncts of human misery and degradation.

POLITICS.

These are in good hands, and I need only refer in this connection to one matter of principle and one of practice. All good citizens take an interest in politics, but all do not enter the arena of law-making. In a lecture delivered at the request of the National Congress,

then sitting in Madras, I spoke on "The Place of Politics in the Life of a Nation," and distinguished three classes of workers : the Thinker, who elaborated an Ideal, the Teacher, who popularised it ; the Legislator who carried it out. It seems to me that many of our teachers forget their duty in the popularisation of political ideals. It is theirs to hold these up before the public until the public is fascinated by them, and places them, with its mandate, in the hands of its representatives. The ideal of a United India, of a self-governing Nation within the Empire, of the protection of all over whom flies the Imperial Flag, the theories of Government, the basis of society in Duties or in Rights, etc.—all these and many more fall within the work of the teacher, and he neglects to do his part in preparing for the New Order, if he does not bring them before the public.

The other special matter is the building up of the Self-Government of India from the basis of the village to the National Parliament, through the various ever-enlarging areas over which the graduated governing bodies should preside. A carefully thought-out scheme, based on facts thoroughly mastered, is here the desideratum. This done, it can be popularised.

THE UNIFIER.

There is only one body which can, if it will, unify the four regiments of the Reform Movement into one great force for progress. That body, it is needless to say, is the Indian National Congress. For in that Congress only have we the unfettered energy of educated India, India articulate, as I have ventured to call it. No other body represents the whole country, and is formed of representatives from every part. It is then to the Indian

National Congress alone that we, who desire to work in one all-embracing Indian movement, can look for its inception. Let it gather up into its hands all these scattered threads, which, interwoven, would form an unbreakable rope. Let it organise all these diffused energies, and direct their flow.

There is much talk of Hume Memorials. Would there be any Memorial more after his own heart, than that the Congress should carry out his cherished ideal of the formation of a National Reform Movement, spiritual, educational, social, political, and, placing itself at its head, lead it to victory ?

CONGRESS SPEECHES ON SELF- GOVERNMENT.

I. Madras Congress.*

MR. CHAIRMAN AND BROTHER-DELEGATES:—In the few thoughts that I want to put before you this morning there are two divisions—first that training for self-government by which only can self-government become a blessing to the country, and secondly, that which is the creed of our Congress, the attainment, by the people of India, of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and the participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. I read these words, on which our eloquent Bengali leader has been practically commenting, in his resolution, because I would ask you to remember that this claim of self-government on equal terms in the Empire is no new growth born of the war. The war has not made the claim from India's lips; it has only revealed her worthiness to those who did not understand. (*Hear, hear*). There is no change in the Indian hope; but we trust there is a change in the reception which the expression of that hope will meet with. First then, the practical side, and then our aim, our goal, what Mr. Surendranath Banerjea has called a dream.

* Speech on the Self-Government Resolution in the Madras Congress, 1914. ..

but a morning dream that is a prophecy of fulfilment. The training for self-government, brother-delegates, is of vital import to our nation to-day. For the government of States is at once a science, and an art ; and in order that it may be worthily exercised, the lesson must be learnt in local self-government, then in provincial autonomy, and finally in the self-government of the nation ; for the work of governing is the most highly skilled profession upon earth. It is not a work for mere passion, but for deep and careful study ; and the younger amongst you who will be part of the self-governing nation and give statesmen to the India of the future — you must study, you must practise now, in order to be worthy of the great calling to which you shall soon be called ; for, you need in study a knowledge of history, a knowledge of economics, and you need in practice that highest of all knowledge, the knowledge of human nature, for without the knowledge of human nature, and the springs of human action and the motives that arouse and the checks that restrain, you will never be able to take your share in the government of a mighty country like the Motherland of India. Where you have a committee you talk over things and reason rules. Where you have crowds of human beings to influence, the elemental passions of men very often break their leashes, and unless you can control as well as guide, the task of self-government would be too great. What then should you do ? You should take part in local Government wherever it is possible. I know that your local Government is only partial, that the members appointed by Government, called non-official members are really officials because appointed and not elected. I know that that cripples your work, and often brings discredited

also on the work of the elect of the people. But as it is, take it and practise it, for you will gain experience, and you will gain knowledge ; and only that experience and knowledge will guide you when you come to speak in larger councils and to make your voice heard over vaster areas. So I would plead to you to face this drudgery. It is drudgery, make no mistake ; understand the details of local administration and understand how to manage your own drains, particularly your waterworks. (*Laughter.*) Those are the alphabets of self-government ; and unless you go through that drudgery, no amount of enthusiasm and love for the country will make your administration a success. Then if, from local self-government in a small town, you can pass on to the Government of a district, then from a district to the Legislative Council of a province, you will then learn the methods that you want to know, and the material with which you have to deal. It is no use complaining of human nature. It is troublesome. Human beings taken one by one are rational ; but human beings in the mass are, I fear, still irrational, and you need to know to meet unreason with skill and how to control ignorance by discretion and by tact. You ask then for this provincial autonomy as the way to a higher goal and in asking it, remember that this is only a step ; it is not your goal but only one of the steps there. Realise that you are asking now with a note of hope in your voice that, before, you could hardly venture to have so made, that the time has come when India shall come to her birthright. Long enough has she been a martyr nation, and now that it is finished, the dawn of her resurrection is beginning to lighten the eastern sky of India. She has suffered, and through suffering she has

learnt ; she has endured, and through endurance she has grown strong ; and in the patience of her waiting, comes her right to demand her freedom, and to be granted that self-government which alone can satisfy the longings of the Indian nation. So after the practice, after the study, after the drudgery, you look to the days when, from one end of India to the other, there should be one great national Parliament in which India's representatives shall shoulder the burden of India's Government. It may be, may it certainly will be, that in those days you, like all other nations, may make mistakes, but none the less only by such mistakes will you gradually grow into the stature of free men ruling a democratic state. Some of us have objected to Home Rule for Ireland, because it should not come alone, and because the only Empire possible for democracy is a Federal Empire made up of the free federations of self-governing units, autonomous within themselves. If you realise that, if you understand that, your place in the Empire hereafter is that of a self-governing people, then who shall dare to say you are unworthy of it ; you with your ancient civilisation, you with your knowledge, your philosophy, your drama, and your literature, with the splendid heroism of the warriors of the past as well as the deep thought of philosophical insight ? I say there is no civilisation in the world so many-sided as the ancient civilisation of India, so fitting the nation for self-government. On one side sublime in spirituality, and on the other mighty in the intellectual achievement of philosophy, and on the third trained in emotion as no other nation has been trained, by the practice of endurance, of suffering, as well as by the warmth of love that flows out from the Indian heart. Where will you find.

a civilisation worthy of freedom, if India be not worthy to be free ?' (*Applause*). It is not as though it were a new nation, a young nation, a mushroom nation like the Boers in South Africa. If they, having fought against England, were worthy of self-government, shall not you, who are fighting beside her, claim self-government ? (*Applause*.) It is this : You must think, you must plan and work for it. Let your Congress work out a scheme of self-government ; for England is a practical nation. If you go and say to her "we want self-government," England might ask you "How do you want it." What is the outline of the prayer that you would make ?" Work it out, argue it out, reason it out. Take a year or two, that probably lies before you, if the war lasts so long, that you may go to England, and say "This is the self-government that we require." Build up your self-government from your own panchayats, and village councils that are being revived again by the co-operative movement. Build on the village unit which is the most suitable unit in India—on that build up your taluq, or larger administrative area, on that your district, and above that your province and to crown the whole of it, the National Parliament of India. Along some such line, to be worked out step by step, by your men of knowledge and of wisdom, along some such line you may ask for self-government within the Empire. That is our goal, and is there any one, as an Australian paper said the other day, who will say 'nay' to India when she asks for what is her right ? It is not a prayer for political largess as one of our papers said yesterday or the day before, it is not a gift of charity ; it is a human right that India is asking, that India claims. Truly a dream ! All ideals are dreams. But Mazzini dreamt a

United Italy, and a United Italy was born. A German poet sang a United Germany and German Unity came forth into the world. Indian hearts are the places where dreams are gradually materialising, and asking you to come out into the world. They must come, for there is no power on earth that can step a nation determined to win its birthright of freedom, and win it, as we say, by constitutional means. Revolutions can be broken, armed forces can be crushed ; but to grow into liberty by law and order—that is the triumph of the English ideal of liberty, and that is the ideal that has been planted by the study of English history in the minds of the Indian people. . In this country we know Milton, we know Milton's appeal to liberty, we have read many other poets, and we have read such a philosopher as Mill, and we know that human nature cannot blossom into the fulness of manhood so long as it is tied and cramped by enactments which forbid its free expression. We ask for liberty for India, not for India's sake only, but for the worlds at large, for India has an ideal quite different from that of the West, and the East must have its own ideal realised in order that the circle of human perfection may be made complete. I venture to say to you, as Mr. Surendranath Banerjea did, dream on, but dream with a determination to make real the dream that you dream. Oh people ! Oh perfect nation ! Oh people that shall be ! How long till thou shalt take station, how long till you are made free ? We are dreamers, we are derided, we are made blinding fools. Shall we bear you witness ? There ye come, ye shall be ; for the India of the future is on the threshold. There are two ways of crowning Kings in Europe—one way in which some officer puts the crown on the

monarch's head, but another way is that the monarch, who has the right to rule, puts the crown on his own head, and so becomes a crowned King. Our queen-mother of India, crowned motherland of our hopes, of our dreams, she has crowned herself with the crown of self-government, and she only awaits recognition ; her royalty is hers, for royalty is her inborn right. Royalty is a birthright, and that birthright belongs to our Queen-India. Let her then come down from the regions of the ideal where we dream of her, to the regions of the real where we shall greet her, and let the cry of *Vande Mataram* ring through the land until the mother is triumphant and India free. (*Applause*).

II. Bombay Congress.*

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-DELEGATES:—The resolution which I have the honour to second before you to-day is perhaps the most momentous that has ever been laid before the National Congress during the thirty years of its splendid existence. For, not only does it proclaim the steps to be taken towards the attainment of self-government, but also it lays down principles of reform, which, if they are embodied in the Committee's report, will make self-government a reality not in the distant vista of time but within the lifetime of the present generation, (*applause*) for, I find the bold demand is made that we should have an expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils so as to make them truly and adequately representative of all sections of the people ; and most vital of all, to give them an effective control

* Speech on the Self-Government Resolution in the Bombay Congress, 1915.

over the acts of the Executive Government. Now, if adequate representation is given, if effective control over the executive is granted, then it will be difficult to say that you have not got self-government in India. It is the largest step the Congress has ever taken, and it will make the Congress memorable in the grateful memory of the India of the future. Not only so, but there is the vital proviso that the All-India Congress Committee is to frame not only a scheme of reform but a programme of continuous work, (*hear, hear*), educative and propagandist (*hear, hear*) ; not agitation, you must understand, but education and propaganda. I am not clever enough to distinguish between that and popular agitation, but I beg you to cling to the words of the resolution which are doubtless statesmanlike and desirable. (*Laughter*).

In the brief time that is mine, I want to put to you three reasons for which this granting of self-government is necessary. One is the practical reason of the need for legislation on certain vital points ; the second, the economic condition of the country, the most pressing reason of all ; and thirdly, and very briefly, the historical justification for the granting of self-government to India.

Now, as regards the first, the need for legislation. There are certain things that press upon the nation which would be rapidly altered if we had a majority, an effective majority, in the Legislative Councils, and if, as I hope, they be wholly elected. What we require has been laid down for us on very useful lines in the resolution. It was said, and I believe truly said, that it was impossible for England to train India on her literature, and, in the admiration for her hoary institutions, to

teach her that taxation without representation was robbery and to expect her to remain taxed and unrepresented and without any effective control over the budgets which are passed year after year. Sometimes people say that an inscrutable Providence has brought Great Britain to this land. I see nothing inscrutable in it. Great Britain, when England came here, was the only free country, sir, in Europe and Providence chose her to come that she might bring India into touch with Western liberty and especially Western institutions. (*Applause.*) The designs of Providence only become inscrutable when you have un-British rule in India instead of the British rule that she ought to follow. Then you may well have a conundrum that you will for ever find it impossible to solve.

There is another reason,—a very practical one—why we should believe that, if we have really representative institutions, we shall be able to carry the measures we desire. This Congress has been asking for 30 years for the separation of executive and judicial functions and has not gained it. But in Indian States that separation is already made. Baroda has done it, Gwalior has done it, some of the smaller States already possess it. And when you have self-government you will not ask for it for thirty years, but you will make it in your first year. (*Applause.*) You have asked for panchayats. Well, Gwalior, Baroda, Dewas and Patiala and other States have already established those Village Council successfully, and yet in British India it is impossible to get them thoroughly on foot. You will sweep away that Arms Act, of which our President so pointedly complained; you will get rid of the Press Act, which we have already protested against; you will get rid of the Seditious

Meetings Act ; you will get rid of the power to intern without trial and to imprison without justification (*applause*) ; you will get rid of that shameful revival of the old Bourbon barbarism, the old Regulation (Regulation 3 of 1818) which exists only in India to-day among all civilised nations of the world. Those are some of the reasons why we demand legislative assemblies with a majority at least of the representatives of the people.

But take the economic reason. Take first, the incidence of your taxation. It is admitted by the Government that in India there is no effective margin of taxation. It has been pointed out by Mr. Gokhale, among others, that the taxation of this country trenches on the subsistence of the labourer. Mr. Naoroji has pointed out that India's production is only Rs. 30 per head, £ 2 a-head, and yet we find that in 1910 Imperial taxation was 8s. 7½d. a head. You need to read blue books, you need to understand what is going on around you. You have a taxation which threatens the bankruptcy of India by the ruin of her agricultural population. The Hon'ble Mr. Wacha has told us—and there is no better authority—that the indebtedness of the peasantry rises to 500 crores of rupees. (*Cries of "shame."*) Is that no reason for changing the system of Government which produces it ? I ask you to consider in relation to this not only the question of taxation but the admitted fact that India is the most heavily taxed country in the world, —not in amount, remember, not in shillings or rupees, but in proportion to the production of the masses of her people. (*Applause*). You cannot measure taxation by counting the number of coins ; you must find the produce of the labourers, and see how much of that you take when you tax him for the benefit of the State. And

when you are dealing with taxation, the next point to remember is that you have admittedly the most costly Government in the civilised world (*applause*) and therefore the necessity for this crushing taxation. Nor is it only that the Government is costly, but you have to remember that the taxes that are raised largely go out of the country in what is well-known as the drain—that which Lord Salisbury called “the bleeding of India,” and he asked that the lancet should be used in the most congested place. You have to remember that the drain out of the country runs to 20 millions sterling. That Mr. Naoroji has calculated. Another 20 millions goes in various charges, interest on capital, etc., managed in the most extravagant fashion, you must remember. For, the railways and other companies have been dealt with by the State as no business people would deal with them, and had even sold their shares at par when they did not bring in the market even as much as half the money paid for them. I want you, younger men, “passionate youths” as you are, to turn your thoughts to these details of taxation and understand why it is that you demand self-government for India. Then I ask you to remember the result. Now, eleven resolutions in previous Congresses have spoken of the horrible poverty of the people. They say the Congress is a middle class and upper class organisation. If the Congress were the Parliament of India, the poverty of the people would long ago have been redressed. (*Hear, hear*). I find the ninth Congress, Resolution No. 8, after concurring in the views set forth in the previous Congresses, states, 50 millions of the population,—the number is yearly increasing—are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that

in every decade several millions actually perish by starvation. I find Sir William Hunter saying that more than 40 millions of the people are always on the verge of starvation. I find Sir Charles Elliot saying that half the population never know what it is to have a full meal. And these, sir, are not "impatient idealists." They are historians (*applause*) and practical politicians. You have to consider that poverty ; you have to realise what it means ; you have to know the agony of hunger ; and then think, as Sir Charles Elliot declared, of 100 millions of the agricultural population who never have a full meal. Some amount of impatience is justifiable when the people are suffering to that horrible extent. For this I tell you : that my fear for India is not the passionate enthusiasm of misguided youths, but the spectre of hunger, the frightful spectre of coming bankruptcy, which means the most awful of revolutions, the revolution of starving people whom none can check or reign in, when once they despair of help. (*Applause*).

The third reason is historical. Five thousand years ago, this country was trading with ancient Babylon, and 3,000 years before the Christ down to 1613 after Christ, there is no break in the commercial and in the industrial prosperity of India. 5,000 years of self-government behind you. "But there were wars, there were revolts." Read history before you speak too glibly about the disturbances in mediæval and in ancient India ; for if there were wars here, there were wars there. Akbar was reigning when Queen Elizabeth was on the throne, and Queen Elizabeth gave the first charter to trade with India. In the reign of James I the first trading company was allowed to establish itself in Surat along the western coast. Since that time, in

England, one king was beheaded, a second king was driven out of the country, and two civil wars on behalf of the exiled Stuarts have taken place. I do not know whether Indian wars were so very much more mischievous than the wars that prevailed over the whole of Europe during those historical times. (*Applause*).

For, after all, is it not true that village organisation went on through them all? It is not true that villages were left untouched, save when the Huns swept down with fire and sword? Is it not on record that while the soldiers were fighting, ploughmen were ploughing the land within sight of the battling army? I put this to you as a particular proposition: that the test of the goodness of a Government is the wealth and prosperity of the people. While India governed herself, so long her people were so well fed that every country in Europe fought for the right to have a charter to trade with this country. That was the result of self-government in this country. Whatever faults might have defaced that system, to-day our President has told us, that India is the most poverty-stricken country in the world. I put the two things before you as the answer to the statement that we are not fit for self-government. I submit that 5,000 years of success are greater than the theories of a few Englishmen who consider that Indians are not their equals. (*Applause*). We are told in the words of Mr. Edwin Bevan that India is a poor cripple with limbs broken, tissues lacerated, tied up in splints and bandages by the benevolent English physicians and she must not move lest the wounds should not heal. India is no sick man. She is a giant who was asleep and who is now awake. (*Applause*).

Are you fit for self-government? Are you not sure?

Mr. Gokhale said—and he 'knew his people well,—he said that you are compelled to live in an atmosphere of inferiority that made the tallest of you bow your heads and that the greatest moral wrong done to India was that she had changed in character under the present method of Government. These men who are here, representatives of India from every part of the land, these men are not the children of savages emerging from barbarism needing to be trained in the elements of self-government by a Western nation. They are the children of heroes, the children of warriors, worthy to govern their own land,—(*applause*) save for one reason : and that is that the very noblest amongst you seems to think himself inferior to the Englishmen around you. Oh, if only you would trust yourselves, if only you would believe in your own power (*hear, hear*), in your own strength and in your own knowledge. (*Applause*). If Sir Satyendra can tell us that he stood face to face with the Viceroy, has been an equal man in the Viceroy's Council, can we say that an Indian is not worthy to rule in his own land ? Are we to think that he is the one swallow that does not make a summer ? Are we not to believe, as I believe, sir, that there are hundreds like you (*applause*) who would show your own ability if they had a chance to do so ?

And so I urge that this resolution be thoroughly carried out and that full representation be given in the Legislative Councils, as a means of self-government, to India. And I pray of you by the memory of your past, by the possibility of the greatness of your present, and by the splendid future that lies before you, if, as Sir Pherozeshah Mehta once said on this platform, you are not emasculated as a nation, stand up on your feet like

men. For England understands when people meet her face to face. (*Applause*). England is a country of free men and she does not understand people being contented to be under the rule of foreign domination. Show England by your courage that you are grateful,—as I know you are—for what she has done, but be most grateful that she has taught you the value of free institutions and has shown you by the example of her history how freedom is to be won, and how a nation becomes self-governing. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

III. Lucknow Congress.*

You have just heard the scheme of reforms which has been passed by the All-India Congress Committee in Conference with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League. Those reforms are alluded to in the second clause, and you will see that they are meant for a transition period to be passed as soon as possible and to lead up to that change, which is to come with the reconstruction of the Empire after the War—that change to Self-Government of India on a footing of equality with the Self-Governing Dominions. It is to the last clause that I propose to ask your attention. The last clause says that in the reconstruction of the Empire after the War, India shall be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self-Governing Dominions. With regard to that, it is said that you ought not to embarrass the British Government by raising such a question as this in the middle of the War.

*Speech on the Self-Government Resolution in the Lucknow Congress, 1916.

We are only following the example of the Self-Governing Dominions. We are only taking the advice of Mr. Bonar Law, who advised the Dominions to strike the iron while it was red hot. After the reconstruction of the Empire, the iron will be cold, and where, I ask, is the blacksmith who allows the red-hot iron to cool down before he strikes it to the shape and form he wants ?

We hear at this moment much talk about the five nations who are to form a Federated Empire after the War. Where is India ? Oh ! She is not one of the five. She is a coloured people, and coloured people are to have the right of domination over them by colourless people. Coloured people have only the duty of submission. (*Cries of 'shame.'*) But that is not the doctrine that this coloured nation at least is willing to accept. We are not uncivilised natives of South Africa that we should bow our heads beneath the yoke of the five nations. It is not lack of colour that makes clever brains. The Lord Buddha and the Christ were coloured men. All the founders of religion were coloured men. Have the colourless produced a single founder of religion ? We will never bow beneath the yoke of the Colonies.

We are told not to spread bitterness against the Colonies. I think the writer of that has begun at the wrong end. Have we excluded the Colonies from India, because they could not talk or write some language of which they knew nothing ? Was it this country or was it Australia that passed that Law ? Have we said that no North American or Canadian should come to India unless he comes straight from port to port when there is no line of ships that carries straight from one to the other, or has Canada made that law against the

Indian people ? What is this talk of bitterness ? Bitterness is caused by the Colonies and not by India. Let this advice be given to the Colonies and not to India. The Indian had no share in the making of that feeling.

Oh ! We are not fit to govern ourselves and we are divided ! Are we ? We have shown some power of union during the last few years. Our Congress was split into half nine years ago. But we stand a United Congress to-day. Hindus and Muslims had a gulf between them, not in Kashmir where a Hindu Prince rules, not in the Deccan where a Muslim Prince is the Sovereign, but only in the British Raj, and that gulf has been bridged by Muslims and Hindus themselves, and we have linked our hands in love, in trust, in mutual forbearance, in mutual respect, and we stand to-day a united nation that nothing shall hereafter break asunder.

Oh ! you are not fit for Self-Government. You are ignorant. Who has the right to cast that reproach at the masses of our people ? It was the late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale who tried to win free and compulsory education cautiously, carefully, step by step, for he was not an impatient idealist in the world, however much his heart went with impatient idealism. An Indian tried to educate his brethren but who is it that denied it ? It was the Imperial Council with its perpetual majority of officials. Does it then lie in the mouths of Englishmen to reproach us with ignorance when the Government would not educate our people and would not help us to do it ?

Then they say : " You cannot help yourselves." Did we pass the Arms Act ? Did we take away weapons from the hands of our people ? Since 1878, there has been no pure-blooded Indian, whether Hindu or Mussalman, who

could possess arms without a license, to the gaining of which, all sorts of difficulties are attached. Is it India's fault that it is undefended ? For thirty years the Congress has asked for the repeal of the Arms Act and for permission to volunteer and to open Military Colleges, and those who have treated every demand with contempt, say that we are not fit to govern ourselves, because we cannot defend ourselves. It is only Home Rule that will enable us to defend ourselves. Until we have Home Rule, we cannot be armed as we should be.

SECONDARY EDUCATION THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF THE VERNACULARS.*

THE basis of the view that the vernaculars should form the medium of instruction in all subjects in Primary and Secondary Schools, and that English should be learned as a language only, and not used as a medium of instruction, is the obvious fact that until complete mastery of a foreign tongue is gained, so that a person *thinks* in it, and does not mentally translate into his own tongue all that he hears from another, and from his own tongue all that he wishes to say in the foreign language, he cannot learn any subject which is taught him in the foreign tongue without the double effort of mentally translating what is said to him, and then of assimilating the information conveyed. The extraordinary facility with which Indians learn foreign languages marks the difficulty under which the children labour. Let any one take an English boy, and set him to learn Geography, History and Science in Tamil, while at the same time he has to learn Tamil as a language, and he will soon be convinced of the unfairness of teaching Tamil children in English. The subjects taught in Secondary Schools are sufficiently difficult in themselves to demand the full attention of the pupils: presented to them in their own tongue, their whole attention is concentrated on the facts conveyed, and

* *The Indian Review*, April 1914.

these are readily learned and remembered. But if these same facts are offered to them in an unfamiliar tongue, one which they follow with difficulty, half their attention is occupied in understanding the words used by the teacher, while the other half is directed to the grasping of the facts. Often the time occupied in translating the unfamiliar language mentally causes them to fall behind the teacher's thought, and at the end of the lesson they have in their minds a jumble of sentences with gaps between them, which they vainly try to reduce to a consecutive statement. The matter is so clear that any argument on the subject tends to become absurd from its very obviousness : it is only an utter lack of imagination, of the power of putting ourselves into the place of the bewildered child on whose unlucky head unfamiliar facts and words are showered at the same time, that makes it possible for any of us to say that English should be the medium of instruction in Secondary Schools. Many a child seems to be stupid merely because he cannot follow what is said to him with sufficient rapidity. Yet grown-up and educated English people, with a fair knowledge of French or German, will often confess to a difficulty in thoroughly following and mastering a lecture on a scientific or philosophical subject, delivered in one of these tongues.

Another peculiarly stupid use of English is where it is used for teaching small Indian boys Sanskrit : all the vernaculars draw more or less on the Sanskrit, and to translate a Sanskrit word into English, or an English word into Sanskrit, is to deprive the student of all the help to memory that grows out of the similarities of sound between, say a Sanskrit word and its Telugu equivalent. If, for instance, Dr. Bhandarkar's first Sanskrit book

were used in the vernaculars instead of in English, the time taken in mastering it would probably be halved.

In object lessons, again, the names used would be homelike and familiar if given in the child's vernacular, and his interest would be keenly aroused, whereas the very object becomes a lesson instead of a plaything when labelled with a foreign name.

Apart from the endless facilities which would be found in this use of the vernacular in teaching, there would also be advantage to English if it were taught as a language only. Taught conversationally by the Berlitz, or any similar method, it would be acquired readily by young children, much more readily than by any large use of books English as taught to little children by half-educated Indian teachers is rarely "English as she is spoke." To begin with, while an Indian can teach English literature to M. A. classes quite as well as an Englishman can teach it, small children should be taught by English people, and by English people of gentle birth—preferably women. They should teach by familiar chat and simple stories, and all the dreary verbiage of subject, copulate and object, all the weary parsing and analysing, should be left to the year before Matriculation, crammed up so long as examiners demand it, and promptly forgotten as soon as possible. The appalling amount of useless rubbish ladled into boys' heads under the name of "English grammar" wastes many months of time that might be more usefully employed, and the result is seen in the stilted and unnatural letters written by many Matriculates. They are ridiculed for them, while it is the system that should be blamed.

On the use of the vernaculars as the medium of instruction in Secondary Schools, there is practically unanimity

of opinion. But to overcome the inertia of habit, and the pressure ignorantly exercised by parents, it is necessary that this use should be obligatory, not optional. This was pressed on the Department by Mr.—now the Hon.—P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar in 1905, but has not yet been carried out.

. In 1904 the same gentleman, then acting as the Secretary to the "Council of Native (now Indian) Education, Madras," urged that if a School Final Examination were to be established, "it must be conducted in the vernacular." A School Final Examination has been established but still recognises English, as the medium of instruction. At the meeting held on January 31st, in the present year, it was decided that the reform "should be general throughout all classes of High Schools," and it was pointed out that the failure of the Agricultural Schools and Colleges "can be traced to Secondary Education being given in the English language." It would be well definitely to lay down the principle that all subjects, other than English as a language, should be taught in the vernacular; then our Indian boys would be in the same advantageous position as the Japanese, who learn all subjects in their own tongue, and take English as a compulsory second language. If this principle be adopted up to Matriculation, the education will be practical, consistent and effective right through the school period, and English will be known for all useful purposes as well as it is known to-day. Those who wish to do so can specialise in it during their years in College.

There are many other reasons why the vernacular should be used for all purposes in secondary schools, reasons touching on nationality, patriotism, the enrichment

of vernacular literatures, and so on. But I am content here to dwell on the common-sense and obvious view. that it smooths the way to knowledge which the child must tread, leaves his intelligence free, and enables his observation and his reasoning faculties to work on the subjects presented to him without the fetters of a foreign tongue. Inventiveness will be stimulated, originality encouraged, where the child is no longer hampered by the difficulties of mere language which his elders now impose on him.

COLOURED RACES IN THE EMPIRE.*

MY subject this evening constitutes one of the most difficult and complicated problems that can face a nation which governs an Empire. Difficult, because, for the most part, the governors know very little about the governed ; complicated, because of the nature of the term 'coloured races.' In that term is included a number of nations who differ from each other more widely than the Indian of Hindustan differs from the Englishman. The great Empire of England has been built up in a strange fortuitous way, not on any definite plan. It has not developed along any foreseen lines. Sometimes a country has been conquered directly by an army ; sometimes, as in the case of India, it has been gradually invaded by merchants, who arrange to hold one fragment of soil after another as peaceful traders, and thus gradually, in consequence of the internal struggle of the various States, succeed in gaining a position of superiority, and at last practically an unchallenged Empire. India is the largest of the many territories under the British Crown. We see in connection with that a claim, made occasionally by people who ought to know better, that we conquered India by the sword and hold it by the sword. But this is only true if they add—by the sword of her own children. It was not the swords of

* A lecture delivered recently at Letchworth Garden City Summer School, England.

our nation that conquered India, but the swords of her people sharpened one against another. Just as the Moslem Empire was set up in consequence of the quarrels between Rajput States and others in the Kingdom, and only triumphed by the quarrels of opponents, so was it with Britain's gradual growth in India, siding with one against another, making treaties with one against another—to be broken when it proved more profitable to break than to maintain them. Step by step the huge dominion has grown up there, differing in most respects from the growth of the Empire in other lands.

I want to urge you, if you wish to understand the problem, to take each Colony, or each great State, by itself ; for there is no one solution of the problem which can be applied to them all. We have these different problems, each of which needs very careful study and thorough understanding, if we attempt to realise the powers and necessities of the people who are under the British Flag.

The difficulty is largely in the fact that the Empire is governed by a Parliament that sits at Westminster, and that, of that body, only a few members know practically anything about the vast Empire they are called upon to govern. Most of them know practically nothing beyond the needs of the nation to which they belong—some of them hardly even as much as that ; and the truth is that, when they are dealing with an Empire such as Britain rules, they need a body of experts placed in power, because *they* would know what they have to do. And these members are a body of men elected for quite different objects, acquainted with quite different problems, knowing very little of the coloured races in the Empire, and showing their lack of knowledge and

their lack of interest by leaving more empty benches than full ones in the House when some question affecting coloured races comes up for discussion. That is where the difficulty lies. I do not blame the members of the British Parliament. They are elected to serve their country, this district and that district, this city and the other, to know something about the needs of their constituents, and something that will gain them votes at the next election. But the interests of the coloured races in South Africa and India, in New Zealand and Australia—what power have these people to make their voices heard and to make there interests felt? They have no power over the British members of Parliament, and no way in which to make their wants articulate. They are silent and helpless, and if in the House of Commons a man gets up and champions their cause he is treated with opposition and ridicule. Unless we can rouse the English conscience to realise that with the ruling of the Empire goes imperial responsibility, it is impossible for the Empire to be well-governed, for the British nation to discharge its duties to the fullest. What saves us, to a great extent, is the excellence of the individual Englishman rather than the system of the English rule. We get, as a rule, in the foreign dominions, men who are doing their best according to their lights, and that fact should be noted when the nation is estimating their work. The Englishman is very often unpopular, especially in India; and quite naturally unpopular, because he stands aloof from the population he rules, and because he is often much too distant in his manners. When we come to deal with a country like India, a nation like the Indian, a people with a high sense of conduct, self-respecting, a very ancient nation—

want of manners does more harm than want of justice.

I have many times seen the rule of men governing Colonies, and am inclined to say that, on the whole, the English administer better the countries they rule than the Continental nations appear to do. But if we take the French, we find them far more friendly with the Indian in their dominions than are Englishmen in theirs. There is far less barrier between race and race. With us it is a question of colour. The result is that you see more outer content with the French official than with the English.

These things have to be considered if we want to learn? because we can learn if we are wise, and we should not lose anything in which the English stand supreme—the sense of justice—by urbanity and gentleness, the policy that wins the hearts of the people, where before we could only command a sort of unwilling respect.

That is a point I want you to remember all through, because it is a question I have discussed over and over again with educated Indians; and, putting aside the short anarchical period, I find that even by the most extreme reformers amongst the Indians it is generally agreed that in self-government they have no desire to sever their connection with the British Crown, but would prefer to be an integral part of the Empire rather than an independent nation. We must remember this when dealing with the problem. If all the hard things said on both sides were true we should not have India at all. "We are only in India because the Indians wish us to be there, and when the Indians want us to go, we shall be compelled to go." So said Lord Minto, and it is quite

true ; and, remembering that, we must make a little discount from some of the hard things said, and realise that perhaps the very confidence which exists there that the English people are just, makes many a hard thing to be said that would not be said under a rule less just.

I want to divide these 'coloured races,' which appear as if they are same people in my title. We have the Colonies, in some of which we have mostly people of a very low type. both intellectually and morally, people, who are almost savages. Take, for instance, South Africa, where we have Kaffirs. We are dealing there with people who are practically children, and need to be treated as children, because they are fit for nothing else ; though exactly the same attitude should, I think, be taken with regard to a large number of the white people round about us. We ought to treat them as children. They ought never to have any share in the Government, or be regarded in any sense as citizens. They are only fit to be taught, trained, and helped, and the cruellest thing to do is to give them liberty, for they only abuse it. By repeated punishments they are turned into criminals, creating a disgrace to our civilisation.

With regard to the Kaffirs, then, a child in humanity, whether white or coloured, ought to be treated as a child and not as a grown-up man : should be trained and taught, gently and helpfully educated, but not given what we call liberty ; for liberty is only valuable to the man who is able to govern himself, and who has gained self-control. Otherwise, liberty is a danger to him and to the community in which he lives.

In considering the problem of South Africa, let us realise that we have in our coloured races there people of entirely different types. We have the whole of those

whom we can really call savages, some of them gentle, some warlike and turbulent, but none of them fitted for any form of citizenship at the present time. Then there are the people who come over from India, who are Aryans, a large number of emigrants and people of the Aryan type, people who belong to a highly-civilised race and have the instincts of the civilised man and not those of the savage. They are all treated in practically the same way in South Africa; no real distinction is made between them. These people of the higher type are treated in the most abominable manner. They are treated, these indentured labourers, worse than ordinary slaves were treated, for indenture is only a form of slavery. We say there is no slave under the British Flag! But these 'free indentured labourers' are slaves; but because that word was too unpopular to use, they called them free indentured labourers instead. But what else are they when one thinks of the way in which they are treated? Their women are not safe, nor are their children, and their property also is not safe. I have known many of these people forced out of the country, their property sold for a mere song, property which had taken many years to accumulate. The same 'indentured' labour is, in most respects, much worse than chattel slavery, if we would only take the trouble to look into it closely. The chattel slave was looked upon as valuable property, and the owner took some care of his property, just as he might take care of a pair of horses; which he looked upon as so much material value; and when that piece of property was overworked or overdriven, then it would occur to him that it was worn-out, and another must be bought to take its place. But in the case of

the indentured labourer, he is used up to the very last ounce of his strength. His practical owner might dishonour his wife, and for that he had no remedy, because the whole power was in the hands of the man who owned his labour. And if he made complaint he would be judged as rebellious and punished, merely because he had tried to save the honour of his wife.

These problems may not be known over here but they are well-known in South Africa and India, and it is such doings that are breeding a spirit of anger and resentment of which few people over here in England have any real idea. Fortunately the export of labourers is being stopped by the Indian Government.

What are the results of the laws in Canada, and how is the Indian treated there? He goes over there to work, and everyone admits that he is a hard-working, industrious, and good-living man ; but they put burdens on him that they do not put on other coloured men that are not under our famous Union Jack. They allow the Japanese to travel through the country with a far smaller amount of money than any coloured citizen of the Empire can travel with. The coloured man's wife and children are not allowed to come and live with him. They deprive him of all family life. He is not allowed to land unless he has come all the way from India to British Columbia in one liner ; and as it happens that no liner runs direct, except very rarely, they have a splendid reason for turning him back when he puts his foot on Canadian soil. Injustice like that is going on at the present time, and under the Flag of Great Britain, which is morally responsible for all the wrong and injustice done.

A friend of mine, a Sinhalese, a Graduate of Cambridge,

and a fellow-subject belonging to our Indian Empire, living normally in the United States, had to go to Vancouver to lecture. He was ordered not to stay in Vancouver more than three weeks. When the three weeks were over, he was requested to leave the country and go back to the States. Yet large numbers of other emigrants who were white people, and who were glad to listen to his lectures, and learn what he had to teach them, were free to do as they liked ; whilst he, their teacher, came under the ban of the Government of the country where he went. It is such things as these that embitter, that make men antagonistic and angry. I ask you to look at the conditions that exist in Canada to-day, and bring pressure to bear to alter these conditions, to try to secure for our fellow-subjects in Canada and South Africa a better treatment. Let us treat them with some reason and consideration, and not say that the colour of a man's skin is the measure of his political place and of his moral worth.

In Australia we have an enormous territory with about five millions of white men, and an immense coast-line. But even in Australia there are some parts that exclude the coloured man. One condition is that a man must be able to write and translate in a foreign tongue. An Indian going there is given a passage in modern Greek to read and translate, and if he cannot do it he is turned back. No Indian Prince can go into Australia. Arrangements are carefully made beforehand in order to prevent his landing when he reaches those shores.*

China and Japan are both great and growing Powers in the Pacific. Can we think it likely that if their people

* Some modifications have lately been made as to this.

are not treated with more courtesy and justice, they will always, submit to the holding of that huge continent of Australia by a nation of five million people ? We should not do it, if in their place. Is it possible for English people to discriminate constantly against coloured races, and yet expect them always to remain quiet and submissive, taking an inferior place, which very often is not theirs ? In Australia a very curious change is taking place. Colour has very much deepened in that clime, and the Australian has become very yellow ; so that it becomes a problem whether, after a time, the people would be allowed to live in their own country ! The white people are far more coloured than are some Indians.

The only country that treats its coloured races decently is New Zealand. When the New Zealand colonists went there they did not steal the land, or, as it is often called, annex it, but paid honestly for what they wanted ; and then they arranged that, in their own Parliament, the Maori should be represented. So they sat side by side, and in that country were recognised. New Zealand is the only country under the British Flag where justice is done to the original possessors of the land. They are to some extent citizens, and are allowed to elect their own members of Parliament. I hold that up as an example to the other Colonies of Britain, as the only Colony where the original possessors of the country are allowed equal rights and equal privileges with those who come into the country and establish themselves therein.

With regard to the Africans, one difficulty arises. The English do not understand them. We practically know nothing about them, or of the inner workings of their

minds. In a very useful book, published as a result of the International Races Congress last year, there is a very remarkable paper written by an African, an educated man. He gives us an inside view of an African and of his way of looking at the white man, which everyone should try to understand. In one most interesting passage in that remarkable paper he says that the white man is offensive to the Negro, and that the Negro dislikes the smell of the white man, and that he would not dream of touching or marrying an English woman, because she is revolting to him ; that the traffic of the English in West Africa is extremely objectionable in many respects. I read that paper with great care because it throws a great deal of light on the workings of a quite inferior race-type, and enables us to see how the English are looked upon by these people. That an eminent and educated man of that race should explain such a view is most useful, and his article is one of the most instructive things we can possibly read. It is no good for us to draw our conclusions from the outside. It ought to be our desire to know what these people think of the English from inside, and until we get that view articulated we shall never know the truth.

There is a terrible outcry when an outrage is done to a white woman, but nothing is said or done when tens of thousands of Kaffir women are outraged by white men. This is a most serious question, for no white woman was ever touched roughly by a Kaffir until his own women had been outraged by white men. The safety of womanhood in South Africa has been destroyed by the white man, and not by the coloured races. It is the white man who has broken down the barrier that surrounded her, and left her no longer safe amongst

the coloured people. It is there that lies one of our greatest sins ; the utter disregard of all morality where coloured women are concerned ; the shameful disregard of womanhood in every country where into Britain has entered and where Britain rules. We send our missionaries over to them but English people themselves should first be taught. I cannot forget the shame I felt one day when a great Indian orator, speaking of the English in India, turned to me and said : " If you take away your religion, your drink, and your brothels, we can manage the rest of the difficulties for ourselves." It is no good sending missionaries while such a resort lies on the lips of the Indian.

Now let us return a little more closely to the question underlying the problems of the treatment of the coloured races in India by the white man ; for it is of a most urgent nature. We are, as said before, dealing with a very civilised people. There are few people who realise at all the nature of the problem that confronts the Government in India.

I would remind you that, in the old days, every village in India had its council, a council of the elders of the village. Before that council came all the local affairs to be considered. Everything was decided by the council of the elders of the village. There is now an attempt being made to revive these village councils. Each revival has been attended with extraordinary success. It has been revived in one of the ancient States, and the testimony of the officials is unanimous in its favour. They declare that these councils stop litigation, and that they substitute content for discontent. Many of the old problems disappear entirely, and the elders of the people are naturally much better versed

in local affairs than the British experts. One thing that is greatly needed in India is a basis for self-government re-established on these village councils. There has been a re-establishment : particularly in certain parts of the country, so that it is possible for us to cultivate these ancient talents of self-government which exist throughout the length and breadth of India. We have in India a large class of men, quite as highly educated, as the English upper and middle classes, and educated, too, on English lines, educated in English history, educated to admire English ideals. They have been asked to regard England as a grand country, with her free citizenship, and have heard all the rest of the talk about our greatness. They have gradually assimilated part of this teaching, and desire to apply it to their own country. This is not at all surprising. For how can we expect to educate people civilised from marvellously ancient days, on English lines, and leave them as they were? Remember they are brilliantly intellectual. We can lecture to an Indian audience on points that we would not dare to lecture on in this hall, simply because the subject would be deep enough to send the people to sleep.

India is a nation to which we must give self-government. I do not mean that we must give it her suddenly, because these things have to grow on them, just as they have grown on us in England. England has not leaped into self-government all at once, but has grown gradually into it through centuries of struggle. The problem we had in India a few years ago, the violence that broke out here and there, was a violence that would never have occurred had we only been a little wiser with regard to India, and given earlier even the beginning of

the self-government we gave afterwards. If we consider the nations that lived in the days of Queen Elizabeth, an Indian Ruler of that time had a far more civilised Empire under him than had England. In India there was religious toleration, while in England religious persecution was going on.

How can we expect that a people with such traditions behind them should remain quiet when they have no share in the Government of their country, and where the greatest ability does not win the giving of opportunity and of executive power? And when we turn to the Marathas we find the same thing true. The Marathas began to break the Moslem power of the North, which was in existence at the time when England was weak in India, and they well-nigh made an Empire. Can we expect that race, one of the strongest, most intellectual people on the face of the earth, to accept for ever a subordinate position in their own country, and never to recall their position in the Empire they had almost grasped. To win this virile race is worth much trouble. England and India ought to be good friends; friendship is necessary, for both need each other in the higher development of each.

Nor must we forget that the Indian is our equal, and not our inferior. We must meet him on equal terms, and not as if we belonged to a higher race. We are all of the same race, the Aryans. Of that root stock of the Aryan we are a later branch. This is the only difference as regards race. And what is colour? The Kashmiri is fairer than the Italian or the Spaniard. In our Central Hindu College the headmaster, who is a Kashmiri, is far whiter than many an Englishman. He has a fairer skin. Colour is nothing; race means a great deal. This is

one thing I ask you to remember, that race does matter, colour does not. Colour is superficial, but race governs the building of the body, and different races have their different types of bodies and nervous system, and, therefore, different qualities of brain and different faculties and powers. Colour has nothing to do with all these things. Colour is an effect of climate, a pigment laid down in the skin, and the white colour is thought of as ugly by the Indian, just as the black is by the Englishman. We have a beauty of golden-brown colour in many an Indian, which is far more beautiful than the white of the Northerner. In any case, it does not matter ; the race is just the same ; and the thing that is doing a great deal of harm and breeding a great deal of mischief in India is that over here in England the Indian is often treated as our equal, goes to Cambridge, Oxford, or into ordinary English society, meets with a great deal of friendliness and respect, and when he goes back to his own country he is barred by the official class. After being trained in the English feeling of social equality, he goes back to find he is not allowed entry into an English drawing-room. These are the things that sting, and are spoken of by one to another where Indians gather.

I urge upon you to realise that this question of colour should be put out of court altogether when we are dealing with our fellow-citizens, whatever kind of skin they have. We must not let this question come in. We are dealing with institutions and rights and privileges, and must realise that we are to deal with a type and not with the colour of the skin. Only in that way can an Empire like ours hope to grow into real stability, and tide over the many difficulties which lie before it in the future.

And now let us consider the question of India itself. We are giving it a large measure of self-government, training the people along the lines on which we permit them to work. But this, we must remember, is only the first instalment of justice. We must become conversant with Indian conditions, so that we can make the people over here in England claim fair treatment for the Indian population and give them representative institutions, which they rightly and properly claim. If our country is willing to do this, to build up what is wanted in India in the way of self-government, we shall have no stronger bulwark of the Empire than the educated race of Indian people, who are willing to work side by side with fellow-citizens, but are no longer willing to be subjects, save as fellow-subjects of the Imperial Crown.

A great deal was done by the visit of the King and Queen. Much courtesy was shown, much willingness to meet, to talk, and understand, and, to the Indian, when the King stood patiently before the poorest of the people, he was as a God; the crown of power. The King was quick to realise that feeling on the part of the crowd. He sent back his guards and walked alone amongst people, and so won their hearts, as nothing else could have done. Men who, before the King's visit, spoke harshly of the English rule, said that their whole feeling toward England had changed because, of the way in which the King had treated them, and because for the first time, they felt they had a King, not merely a foreigner who lived far away. The Indian Princes are men whose genealogy stretches back to the night of time, and they would rejoice to have at their head as Viceroy a son of the Royal blood. And round that Royal throne would gather the Indian Princes, and

become the councillors of the Viceroy, who stood as representative of the Crown. And if, in addition to that council of Indian Princes group round the Englishman of Royal blood, we would give representative power to the educated classes of India, and give them an interest in their own country, then we should be able to build an Empire stronger and more powerful than our own England, where the Empire might feel its centre, and spread over the world.

We do not know the value of the land we hold to-day. If only we would love it, trust it, believe in it, we should have no more loyal part of the Empire than the land called India. But we must substitute trust for suspicion. We must give liberty and not insist on autocracy. We must realise that we are dealing with our equals and not our inferiors, and then all will be well between England and India.

Let us then take the coloured races one by one, and try to understand them. Britain has a great future before it in that work, if the whole of our social system is to be remodelled and reorganised on a new basis of human happiness instead of on the basis of struggle. I believe we can modify the whole social system here in England, as well as elsewhere, and that in the future we shall build up a number of self-governing States, each ruling its own State affairs, and one great Parliament of the whole Empire, in which every country in the Empire will be represented, its voice heard, its wisdom brought to the guiding of the whole. That is what I believe our Empire will be in the future ; and in order that it may be so, we must first of all set our house in order here at home. We must substitute comfort, happiness, and security for the horrible unrest which is

eating the heart out of England to-day. And thus, with the help of our Colonies, and the help of the Indian Empire, we shall be able to make our community one in which wisdom and character will rule. In that Imperial Parliament there will be found the wisest, the best, the noblest, and the most self-sacrificing ; and these are not to be found only among the white race. The coloured races will send their best also to Britain's Imperial Parliament, and we shall find that they, too, are no whit behind the children of the English Motherland. :

INDIA AND THE WAR.*

THE admirable article in the issue of the *New Statesman*—the journal conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb—arriving in India by the Mail of the 18th September, brought out very clearly and rightly the position of India as regards the War. India has dropped every question which has arisen between herself and England on domestic matters, as Ireland has dropped the question of Home Rule. When the Empire is attacked, every other issue fades into insignificance ; the one duty is that which calls every good patriot to the work of defence.

When all danger is over, when peace takes the place of war, and when the domestic concerns of each Nation again assume their natural and rightful place in the minds of the people, then, of course, the questions now dropped will again be raised. The *New Statesman* very properly points out that Indian grievances are not redressed because India, for the time being, generously puts them aside. We may, however, be sure that, when they come to be dealt with, they will be approached in a spirit very different from that of previous years. India has realised her profound love for the British connection as perhaps she has never realised it before; it dwelt in her heart, but now it has been objectified as never before, in her own eyes and in the eyes of the world. Sometimes a husband and wife quarrel; but when the idea of a separation is mooted, both start back in horror.

* *The Indian Review*, September, 1914.

And if India has thus realised the strength of her tie with England, England has met her love with passionate gratitude and delight. Conscious that all has not been wholly well, she is the more grateful to the generosity that forgets all save the good in the hour of peril.

Thus both countries will be in a mood to arrange their differences when the war is over, and we cannot doubt that the King-Emperor will, as reward for her glorious defence of the Empire, pin upon her breast the jewelled medal of self-government within the Empire. It will be, in a sense, a real Victoria Cross, for the great Empress would see in it the fulfilment of her promise in 1858, and the legend inscribed on it would be "for Valour."

But the *New Statesman* shows a touch of statesmanlike genius in the proposal it makes, that England should forestall the end of the war by making three important changes in her attitude towards India. The first is to show that she trusts India by exempting all men of position and education from the operation of the Arms Act, or by making the issue to them of licenses to bear arms a matter of course. "Legal ineligibility to bear arms carries with it such a sense of humiliation, helplessness and self-contempt, that before it, all other blessings dwindle into insignificance" Moreover, at the present time, if a small band of marauders landed on the coast, what would be the position of the disarmed people? Panic arises, because the people have no means of self-defence.

The other two proposals of the *New Statesman* are the bestowal of the boon of Free Education, and the admission of Indians who desire to enlist as Volunteers, both in India and England. If England could rise to this.

height of statesmanship *now* she would indeed sit enthroned in India's heart, beyond possibility of exile.

Apart from all political and imperial questions, India has offered to her an opportunity that she can only partially utilise. Her great cotton mills, in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, should swiftly fill the gaps which will appear in the market for cotton goods, when the goods "made in Germany" are exhausted. And having captured the market, they should hold it by the goodness and comparative cheapness of their goods. The hand-weavers should be encouraged to bestir themselves to meet the increased demand. The strengthening of industries already here is more practicable than the creation of new ones, for most industries need skilled labour, and incompetence cannot replace skill. The Indian labour-market is flooded with men whose answer to the question : "What can you do ?" is : "I am ready to do anything, Sir"—an answer which is equivalent to : "I can do nothing." Reporters who cannot take down a sentence accurately ; proof-readers who cannot spell ; authors who cannot write grammatically ; these flood the market. The German is a skilled workman, so he captures the world-markets. Indians can do the same at the same cost. But Governments cannot create skill. They can open famine-works ; they cannot create factory workers, glass-makers, match-makers. Hence India cannot profit, as England and America will, by German elimination as a competitor. But we can learn, by the present conditions, the lesson that we must make ourselves competent, and if that lesson be mastered, the war will have opened the way to Indian prosperity in the near future.

THE MAHARASHTRA.*

I need not remind you how great a part Maharashtra has played, in the near past in the life of India. Its people are known everywhere for the keenness of their intelligence, the shrewdness and strength of their mental power, their will and determination. These are everywhere admitted to be the characteristics of these people ; not easy to persuade, not easy to lead, save where a leader arises among themselves who is able to convince their reason as well as to captivate their hearts. But that the Mahratha people can follow when a worthy leader arises, is shown by the great devotion poured round those spiritual teachers that have made the name of Maharashtra ever living in the life of India ; that they can follow, we know, from the allegiance they paid to Shivaji, and he, as the pupil of one of those great sages, united in himself so much strength, with great love and devotion to the spiritual teacher, that he set an example to those who in their turn followed him. There can be no doubt that in the future, as in the past, this district of Maharashtra has a great part to play in India, and it can only play it well, if the old fire of spiritual enthusiasm shall dominate the intellect, shall guide the reason. As a rule, the man of Maharashtra is too strong to be guided save by appeal to his reason. If I may say so, brain dominates more than heart, and where the heart moves, it must move by appeal that has come to it through the intelligence. They have emotion, they have heart, the capacity for strong and enduring enthusiasm, but this does not arise.

* From the speech at the Mahratta Theosophical Federation, November 1913.

THE CHIVALRY OF INDIA.*

In the West, a great ideal dawned on the Nations of the Middle Ages, the Ideal of Chivalry, of the "very parfait gentil knight." Tennyson put into the mouth of King Arthur a fine description of the Ideal Knight—for him, of course, a Christian :—

I bade them lay their hands in mine and swear
To reverence the King as if he were
Their conscience, and their conscience as their King,
To break the heathen and uphold the Christ.
To ride abroad redressing human wrongs.
To speak no scandal, no, nor listen to it.
To lead sweet lives in purest chastity.
To love one maiden only, cleave to her,
And worship her by years of noble deeds
Until they won her. For, indeed, I know
Of no more mighty master under heaven
Than is the maiden passion for a maid ;
Not only to keep down the base in man,
But teach high thoughts, and amiable words.
And courtesy, and the desire for fame,
And love of truth, and all that makes a man.

The knight was to be strong yet gentle, brave yet tender, an honourable foe, a loyal friend, a faithful lover, a defender of the weak, truthful, generous, forgiving, pure. He had to pass through a long apprenticeship in arms, in courtliness, ere the golden spurs were bound upon his heels, and the accolade

* From the address to the First Students' Conference at Nellore, July 1916.

made him knight ; the night before his acceptance he spent in vigil and in prayer, as did Shri Ramachandra before the day fixed for His crowning.

Here, in India, the Ideal of Chivalry was embodied in one word—Aryan. The Aryan could not lie, he could not be a coward, he could not betray a friend, he could not strike a fallen foe ; and in the Rajput custom, when a woman in distress or danger sent to any brave man the Rakki, or bracelet, and he became her Rakki-band-bhai, her bracelet-bound-brother, he “ must defend her though he might never see her face ;” he wore the cord on his wrist, as the Christian knight wore his lady’s glove or ribbon on his helmet.

THE SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY.*

RAISE him (the late Mr. Gokhale) a statue by all means, but not in carven marble, not in molten metal, will the statue of Gokhale be really raised in the lives of young men who emulate his virtue, in the service that they will render to the common motherland, in high ideals, in pure endeavour, in absolute devotion. It is you, and others like you that will make the statue perpetuate his memory throughout the years to come. Certainly raise it—it is right—but nearer and dearer to that selfless heart was the Society he founded to carry on his work. We remember he said that we must serve India by our failures, that others will serve her by their successes. There is no failure for the man who serves the motherland, for though outside the result may be little, the force is ever accumulated by every servant of the motherland, and that shall carry her to her appointed goal ; and for one thing, I would ask you specially to help this young Society. It is because he demanded that every one who came into it should study before he acted, and should know before he spoke. Five years of silence he imposed on those who came to him before they might write or speak or try to guide their fellow-men, and there he showed his wisdom and the secret of his power, for he never spoke save with knowledge

* From the speech at the Madras Memorial Meeting, April 1915.

behind speaking, and those who try to emulate his example must also learn before they begin to teach.

When last I saw him at Poona, when for a few days he thought his life was to be lengthened, there were two matters that, he said, alone disturbed his thoughts when his mind was turned towards death. One was the Public Services Commission. "I am going," he said, "leaving my work half done." The other was the Society into which his life was poured, for as truly as any son has the life of his father within him, as truly as any child has the spirit of his father to guide him, so in this baby son of his, Mr. Gokhale's life is living to-day. In the work that it will do in the future it will be the spirit of Mr. Gokhale that will inspire it. So I would remind you that while you raise a statue to his public honour, do not forget what matters more, the hope that ever nestled warmly in his heart, that is nearest and dearest to those who imitate him, throwing away everything of this world and burning upon the altar of their country in sacrifice all that the world could give of joy and wealth, that they may pass into the sanctuary of your hearts as ever it was the image in his, and that as he looks across his motherland and watches the work that is growing, he may see his son carrying on his labours and know that in the work of the motherland he has not lived in vain.

THE MEMORANDUM OF THE NINETEEN*

The memorandum of the nineteen members of the Supreme Legislative Council, and the scheme passed by the National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, mark out the road of reforms which the nation is determined to tread. The latter affords a workable scheme for a peaceable and easy transition from the present entirely irresponsible but partially representative Government to a Government responsible to the almost wholly representative Legislative Council. As the President of the National Congress pointed out, it is a transition scheme and should be regarded as such. The third clause of the Congress resolution marks the end of the transition, the entry of India into the proposed Imperial Council, as a Self-Governing Nation, equal in status to the Self-Governing Dominions.

The objection raised in the columns of this "Review" last December by Sir Valentine Chirol, in the words of Lord Hardinge, betrays a want of knowledge of the evolution of Government in India, and I may say in passing, that those who worked out the scheme accepted last Christmas, had carefully studied the so-called "patient and steady evolution" of the Colonies, varied by revolts, mob agitation, and continual law suits against the Central Government. Patience was, perhaps, hardly a dominating factor. While revolts and mob agitation

* From the Indian Review, January 1917.

have been singularly absent in India, save for the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, it is unreasonable to ignore the successive reforms which have led up to the present demands; these cannot be regarded as requiring a "sudden stroke of statesmanship," but are, as in the Colonies, the inevitable sequence of past changes. The Colonies began as Crown Colonies with or without Executive Councils; then a nominated Legislative Chamber; then elected and nominated Chamber; then wholly elected, save for nominated Ministers. Refusal of supply led to responsible Government, but without statutory basis. A "sudden stroke of statesmanship" gave an Act. In India, the process started with a trading charter in 1600. In 1669 a charter changed the trading company "to a territorial sovereign" (Ilbert): from 1765 to 1858, power was divided between Company and Crown, executive and legislative powers being in the hands of a Governor-General and Council; in 1833 an "additional member" of Council was added, only for legislation; in 1853, six members were added for legislation only, a germinal Legislative Council, and the original additional member was made ordinary: in 1858, the Crown took over Government, and in 1861 the Council was enlarged, half the additional members were to be non-official, and the Presidency Councils were given legislative powers: in 1892 the Councils were enlarged but were nominated: in 1909 they became partly elective, partly nominated. The process has been more "patient and steady" and much longer than in the Colonies; the next step asked for—four-fifths elected, one-fifth nominated—is hardly "a sudden stroke of statesmanship," but rather a very modest demand, less than the step taken by the Colonies; yet

this, accompanied by control of supply, as in the Colonies, will compel responsible Government, as in the Colonies, without statutory action, for refusal of supply means a dead lock till the "irresponsible" Government submits, and becomes responsible. The Act, as in the Colonies, will shortly follow, in the Reconstruction of the Empire, in order that India may take her place in the Imperial Council.

Hence the *vital* Post-War Reforms are the making the Councils four-fifths elective, and giving to these Councils the power of supply. All else is subsidiary. But unless these are gained, nothing of value is gained, and they must be gained in a form with which no Regulations made here can interfere.

We must, of course, stand by and agitate for the whole scheme, especially for the Muhammadan proportion in the electorates, for on this the union was made. Nothing less than the whole scheme should be accepted, for it forms the next step, and anything less would be marking time. The talk of "revolutionary changes" merely shows ignorance of Indian constitutional history, and I humbly recommend to those who speak and write in this way the reading of Ilbert's *The Government of India*.

It seems to me unnecessary to put forward any Post-War Reforms except the United Scheme. Obtaining that, we obtain power to repeal all the obnoxious and repressive laws which disgrace our Statute-Book, and to place on it the beneficent legislation necessary for Indian prosperity. We can then adjust taxation, regulate expenditure, educate our people, foster our industries, improve our agriculture. It is unwise to dissipate energy over many reforms when one reform,

that of our legislatures, will give us power. Let us then concentrate on the Congress-League Scheme, and carry it to a triumphant conclusion.

FAREWELL TO MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN INDIA.

(I wrote this to leave behind me, when I thought I was going to Ooty. Now, as I have to see H. E. the Governor to-morrow, I think it is safer to print it to-day, lest I should be interned and unable to speak. 12th June 1917.)

. . . . For myself, as a member of the All-India Congress Committee, I elect to obey the mandate of the country, in preference to that of the Governor of Madras.

. . . . When I was twenty-five I wrote, anonymously, my first Free thought pamphlet, and within a year, as I refused to attend the Sacrament I had ceased to believe in, I was turned out by my husband from his home. I did not then, and do not now, blame him, for the position of a Vicar with a heretic wife was impossible, and his friends urged him to the step. At twenty-six, at the end of July, 1874, I joined the National Secular Society, for the first time heard Mr. Bradlaugh lecture on August 2, and received my certificate of membership and had an interview with him a day or two later. On August 30, I wrote my first article in the *National Reformer*, and continued to write in it regularly, till he died in 1891. My real public life dates from my first public lecture on "The Political Status of Women," for the Co-operative Institute in August, 1874,

Since then my life has been given wholly to the service of the public, as I have seen service, so that the deprivation of the liberty to render service is the greatest loss that can befall me. I know that the selfish and the unpatriotic cannot realise this, but those who have a similar Dharma, they will understand. Apart from the joy of service, life has no attractions for me, save the happiness that flows from a few deep and strong personal attachments. To surrender liberty and touch with those I love is to me worse than death. But to live free and with them, a coward and dishonoured, a traitor to Dharma and to India, would be hell. I take the easier path.

. . . . The Defence, of India Act was never intended to be used to prevent public political speech, free from all incitement to or suggestion of violence, and accompanied with no disturbance of any kind. My paper could have been stopped by the Press Act, by forfeiture of security and confiscation of press.

I hear, but gossip is unreliable, that to avoid internment I shall be told either to go to England or to promise to abstain from political speaking and writing. I shall do neither. I do not run away from a struggle into which I have led others, and leave them in the middle of the field. Our work has been wholly constitutional ; there has been no threat, no act, of violence ; in nothing has the law been transgressed.

What is my crime, that after a long life of work for others, publicly and privately, I am to be dropped into the modern equivalent of the Middle Age *Oubliette*—internment ? My real crime is that I have awakened in the National self-respect, which was asleep, and have made thousands of educated men feel that to be content with being " a subject race " is a dishonour. Mr. Lloyd

George said truly that Ireland's 'discontent' was not material, it was due to the wounding of National self-respect, and therefore could not be cured even by prosperity.

For me, I have worked for India in India for nearly 24 years, and for 14 years before that in England ; my *England, India and Afghanistan* is as outspoken as *India—a Nation*. In India, I have worked for the old religions and for Islam and against perversion to Christianity ; I have worked for education—the Central Hindu College, now the centre of the Hindu University, and the Theosophical Educational Trust are my witness ; I have worked for social reform on religious lines ; I am still working for all of these, and in addition for that which alone can make these safe, for Home Rule for India, Self-Government within the Empire.

I write plainly for this is my last word. I go into enforced silence and imprisonment, because I love India and have striven to arouse her before it was too late. It is better to suffer than to consent to wrong. It is better to lose liberty than to lose honour.

I am old, but I believe that I shall see India win Home Rule before I die. If I have helped ever so little to the realisation of that glorious hope, I am more than satisfied. GOD SAVE INDIA. •VANDE MATARAM.

NATESAN'S NEW BOOKS : NOTE NEW PRICES.

For India's Uplift. Second edition ; new and up-to-date collection of Speeches and Writings on Indian Questions. By Mrs. Annie Besant. Price Re. 1-8. To Subscribers of "I.R." Rs. 1-4.

Rash Bahari Ghose's Speeches & Writings. Second Edition. With an Index. Price Re. 1-4. To Subscribers of "I.R." Re. One.

Dadabhai Naoroji's Speeches & Writings. Second Edition. An up-to-date, exhaustive and comprehensive collection. Price Rs. 3. To Subscribers of "I.R." Rs. 2-8.

The Swadeshi Movement. A Symposium by Representative Indians & Anglo-Indians. Second Edition ; Price Rs. 1-4. To Subscribers of the *Indian Review*, Re. One.


The Indian National Congress. A new and up-to-date edition. Full text of all the Presidential Addresses, Resolutions, Portraits of all the Congress Presidents. Crown 8vo. Over 1,200 pages. Rs. 4. To Subscribers of "I.R." Rs. 3.

Morley's Indian Speeches.—Crown 8vo., Second Edition. Revised and enlarged. Price Re. 1-8. To Subscribers of "I.R." Re. 1-4.

Indian National Evolution. By Amvica Charan Muzumdar. Second Edition. Price Rs. 3. To Subscribers of "I.R." Rs. 2-8.

When ordering mention if you are a subscriber to the "Indian Review:" otherwise concession rates will not be allowed

The annual subscription to the *Indian Review* is Rs. 5 (Five). Subscriptions can commence from any month. Those that want Concession rates must remit Rs 5 one years subscription to the review in advance.

 This cancels all previous lists.

G. A. Natesan & Co., George Town, Madras,

NEW BOOKS IN THE PRESS.

HON. MR. SURENDRANATH BANERJEA'S SPEECHES.

An up-to-date collection of select speeches of the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea. It contains his many important Congress Speeches including his two Presidential addresses, his speeches in the Viceregal and Bengal Councils, and several important ones delivered both in India and in England during his visits to that country in connection with the Press Conference and Congress propaganda work.

Price Rs. 3. To Subscribers of *I. R.*, Rs. 2-8.

SPEECHES & WRITINGS OF SIR W. WEDDERBURN, BART.

A Comprehensive and exhaustive collection of Sir William Wedderburn's Speeches and Writings on Indian questions is presented to the public in this volume for the first time. It contains Sir William's Congress Presidential addresses, his speeches in the House of Commons on Indian affairs and miscellaneous other addresses and writings in pamphlets and journals on Indian subjects.

Price Rs. 2. To Subscribers of "*I. R.*" Re. 1-8.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF SIR D. E. WACHA.

Sir D. E. Wacha's numerous speeches and writings are brought under one cover for the first time in this volume. It contains his Congress Speeches, and his other addresses to various public bodies as also his select essays on economic and financial subjects.

Price Rs. 2. To Subscribers of *I. R.* Re. 1-8.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

New Edition brought up-to-date.

An account of its origin and growth. Full text of all the Presidential Addresses. Re-print of all the Congress Resolutions. Portraits of all the Congress Presidents, (With an Index). Cloth Bound. Over 1,200 pages. Crown 8vo. Rs. 4. To Subscribers of the "*I. R.*" Rs. 3.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

~~DO~~ PLEASE NOTE CHANGE IN PRICES.

INDIAN POLITICAL LITERATURE.

What India Wants : Autonomy within the Empire.—An appeal to the British Democracy. By G. A. Natesan. Foolscap 8vo. 144 Pages. As. 8. Subscribers "I.R." As. 6.

Dadabhai Naoroji's Speeches and Writings.—Second Edition. An up-to-date, exhaustive and comprehensive collection. Rs. 3. To Subscribers of "I.R." Rs. 2-8.

Gokhale's Speeches.—A new and up-to-date edition. 1,240 pages, Crown Octavo, with seven Portraits and an Index. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 3. To Subscribers of *The Indian Review* Rs. 2-8.

The Indian National Congress.—A new and up-to-date edition. Full text of all the Presidential Addresses, Resolutions, Portraits of all the Congress Presidents. Crown 8vo. Over 1,300 pages. With an Index. Rs. 4. To Subscribers of "I.R." Rs. 3.

Morley's Indian Speeches.—Crown 8vo., Revised and enlarged. Price Re. 1-8. To Subscribers of "I.R." Re. 1-4.

Indian National Evolution. By Ambica Charan Muzumdar. New Edn. Rs. 3. To Subscribers of "I. R." Rs. 2-8.

Rash Behari Ghose's Speeches and Writings. Second Edition. Re. 1-4. To Subscribers of "I.R." Re. One.

King George's Speeches on Indian Affairs. Price Re. One. To Subscribers of "I. R." As. 12.

Besant's Speeches and Writings on Indian Questions : For India's Uplift.—Second Edition ; new and up-to-date collection. By Mrs. Annie Besant. Price Re. 1-8. To Subscribers of "I.R.," Re. 1-4.

The Indian Demands.—A symposium on the Memorandum of the Nineteen and Speeches at the Congress and Moslem League on their Scheme of Self-Government for India. Contains valuable appendices. With an Introduction by Mr. G. A. Natesan. Foolscap 8vo., 288 Pages. Price Re. One. To Subscribers of "I. R.," As. 12.

The Swadeshi Movement.—A Symposium by Representative Indians and Anglo-Indians. Second Edition ; Re. 1-4 As. To Subscribers of "I.R." Re. 1.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras

HINDU RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY.

Sri Sankaracharya.—I.—His Life and Times. By C. N. Krishnaswamy Aiyar, M.A., L.T. II.—His Philosophy. By Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan. Both in one volume. As. 12. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," As. 8.

Sri Madhwa and Madhwaism.—A short Historic Sketch. By C. N. Krishnaswamy Aiyar, M.A. As. 12. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," As. 8.

Sri Ramanujacharya.—His Life and Times. By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A. His Philosophy. By T. Rajagopalachariar, M.A., B.L. As. 12. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," As. 8.

The Life and Teachings of Buddha. By Dharmapala. Price As. 12. To Subscribers, "I. R.," As. 8.

Sri Sankaracharya's Select Works.—The Text in Sanskrit Devanagiri type and an English Translation. By S. Venkataramanan, B.A. Price Re. 1-8. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," Re. 1.

The Vaishnavite Reformers of India.—Critical Sketches of their Lives and Writings. By T. Rajagopalachariar, M.A. B.L. Price Re. 1. To Subscribers of the "I.R." As. 12.

Swami Vivekananda.—An exhaustive and comprehensive collection of his speeches and writings. *With four portraits.* Fourth Edition. Price Rs. 2. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," Re. 1-8.

Aspects of the Vedanta. By various writers. Second Edition. As. 12. To Subscribers of the "I. R.," As. 8.

Ten Tamil Saints. By Mr. M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, B.A., L.T. Price As. 12. To Subscribers, "I. R.," As. 8.

India's Untouchable Saints. Price As. 6 To Subscribers, "I. R.," As. 4.

Essentials of Hinduism. As. 8. To Subscribers, I.R., As. 6.
Hindu Psalms and Hymns. By Mr. K. V. Ramaswami, B.A. Price As. 4.

Maitrèyi: A Vedic Story. By Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan. Price As. 4.

The Bhagavad-Gita or the Lord's Song.—With the text in Devanagiri and an English Translation. By Mrs. Annie Besant. Third Edition. As. 2.

G.A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

INDIAN TALES : AMUSING READING.

New Indian Tales.—Nineteen amusing and instructive tales. By Mr. C. Hayavadana Rau. Price As. 4.

Tales of Raya and Appaji. By T. M. Sundaram. Sixteen amusing and instructive stories. Price As. 4.

Tales of Komati Wit and Wisdom.—Twenty-five amusing and instructive stories. By C. Hayavadana Rau. As. 4.

Tales of Tennali Raman.—The famous Court Jester of Southern India. Twenty-one Amusing Stories. By Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri. Third Edition. As. 4.

Folklore of the Telugus—A collection of forty-two highly amusing and instructive tales. By G. R. Subramiah Pantulu. Price As. 4.

Tales of Mariada Raman.—Twenty-one Amusing Stories. By P. Ramachandra Row Avergal. Retired Statutory Civilian. Second Edition. Price As. 4.

The Son-in-Law Abroad, and other Indian folk-tales of Fun, Folly, Cleverness, Cunning, Wit and Humour. By P. Ramachandra Row, B.A. B.L., Retired Statutory Civilian. Second Edition. As. 4.

Tales of Raja Birbal. By Mr. R. Kulasekharam, B.A. L.T. Besides the stories themselves, the early history of Raja Birbal and an account of his introduction into the court of the Emperor Akbar are given, which form a fitting background to these entertaining tales. Price As. 4.

Maltreyi: A Vedic Story. By Pandit Sitannath Tattva-bhushan. Price As. 4.

Vemana: The Telugu Poet and Saint. By Mr. C. Ramakrishna Rau. A clear and succinct account of the life of this famous Telugu poet and Saint. Price As. 4.

Price Annas Four Each.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF DR. SIR RASH BEHARI GHOSE

A New and Up-to-date Edition.

Price Re. 1-4. To Subscribers of "I.R." Re. 1.

G. A. Natesan & Co, Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

THE INDIAN DEMANDS

A SYMPOSIUM ON THE MEMORANDUM OF THE NINETEEN
AND SPEECHES AT THE CONGRESS AND MOSLEM LEAGUE
ON THEIR SCHEME OF SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

PART I.

Introduction. By Mr. G. A. Natesan.

The Memorandum of the Nineteen: A Symposium—Sir William Wedderburn; Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta; Mr. Yusuf Ali, I.C.S. Sir Sidney Lee; Sir M. M. Bhowanaggee; Rajah Sir Harnam Singh; Dr. Sir S. Subramania Iyer; Hon. Manmohan Das Ramji; Hon. Mr. Ramachandra Rao; Mrs. Annie Besant; Dewan Bahadur Krishnaswami Rao; Shaik Mushir Husain Khidwai; Rev. Dr. Lazarus; Dewan Bahadur Kesava Pillai; Dwn. Badr. Karunakara Menon; Hon. Narain Prasad Ashtana; Raj Bahadur Baikuntanath Sen; Mr. Abbas S. Tyabji; Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu; Hon Dr. H. S. Gour; Hon. Mr. Ramani Mohan Das; Mr. Syed Mahomed; Mr. Sidiq Ali Khan; Hon. Rai Badr. Bakshi Sohan Lal; Mr. A. P. Smith and others.

PART II;

Congress & Moslem League's Scheme of Self-Government for India:—The Hon. Pandit Jagat Narsin; The Hon. Mr. A. C. Muzumdar; The Hon. M. A. Jinnah; The Hon. Syed Nabi-Ullah; Mr. Surendranath Banerjee; Mrs. Annie Besant; Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak; Sir Dinshaw Petit; Mr. Bopin Chandra Pal; The Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru; Mrs. Sarojini Naidu; Mr. Joseph Baptista; Mr. Jehangir B. Petit; The Hon. R. N. Mudholkar; Diwan Badr. Govindaraghava Iyer; The Hon. Rao. Bahadur B. N. Sarma; The Hon. Mr. Abdul Rasul; The Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan; Sir S. P. Sinha, Kt. The Hon. Mr. D. E. Wacha; The Hon. Mr. Mazur-ul-Haque; The Hon. Sir. Ibrahim Rahimtulla; Hon. Babu Bhupendranath Basu; Hon. Pundit M. M. Malaviya; Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

PART III. APPENDICES.

Foblescap Bro., 288 Pages. Price Re. One.

To Subscribers of the "I.R." As. 12.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

The "Friends of India" Series

This is a new Series of short biographical sketches of eminent men who have laboured for the good of India, which the Publishers venture to think will be a welcome addition to the political and historical literature of the country. These biographies are so written as to form a gallery of portraits of permanent interest to the student as well as to the politician. Copious extracts from the speeches and writings of the "Friends of India" on Indian Affairs are given in the sketches. Each volume has a fine frontispiece.

Lord Morley

Henry Fawcett

Lord Ripon

Mr. A. O. Hume

Sir William Wedderburn

Sir Henry Cotton

Mrs. Annie Besant

Lord Macaulay

Lord Minto

Sister Nivedita

Edmund Burke

Rev. Dr. Miller

Charles Bradlaugh

Sir Edwin Arnold

John Bright

Lord Hardinge

THE LEADER :—Will be a welcome addition to the political and historical literature of the country.

THE MODERN REVIEW :—On the cover of each volume is printed a portrait of the subject of the sketch and the stories are told in a lively and interesting manner with short extracts from notable speeches delivered. The series should be welcome to the public.

Foolscap:8vo. Price As. Four each.

ANNIE BESANT'S

SPEECHES & WRITINGS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

This is the first attempt to publish in one volume a comprehensive and exhaustive collection of Mrs. Besant's speeches and writings on Indian Questions.

Second Edition:

Price Re. 1-8, To Subscribers of the "I.R." Re. 1-4.

MORLEY'S INDIAN SPEECHES.

A NEW AND UP-TO-DATE EDITION.

Revised and Enlarged.

Price Re. 1-8. To Subscribers of "I. R." Re. 1-4.

. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetti Street, Madras.

Biographies of Eminent Indians

A Series of Uniform Booklets each with a Portrait giving a succinct biographical sketch and containing copious extracts from the speeches and writings of the personages described.

Dadabhai Naoroji

Sir P. M. Mehta

Dinshaw Edulji Wacha

Mahadev Govind Ranade

G. K. Gokhale

Dr. Rash Behari Ghose

Lala Lajpat Rai

Ravi Varma

Toru Dutt

K. T. Telang

Surendranath Banerjee

Romesh Chunder Dutt

Ananda Mohan Bose

W. C. Bonnerjee

Badrudin Tyabji

Sir Syed Ahmed

Lal Mohun Ghose

Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E. Jamsetji N. Tata

Michael Madhusudan Dutt

Foolscap 8vo. Price As. Four each.

M. K. Gandhi

Madan Mohan Malaviya

Babu Kristo Das Pal

R. N. Mudholkar

V. Krishnaswami Aiyar

Dewan C. Rangachari

Rahimtulla Mohamed Sayani

Mrs. Sarojlal Naidu

Rabindranath Tagore

Isvara Chandra Vidyasagar

Behramji M. Malabari

Sir Syed Amir Ali

Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk

Sir C. Sankaran Nair

H. H. The Agha Khan

H. H. The Gaekwar of Baroda

Sir Salar Jung

R. Ragunatha Rau, C.S.I.

DADABHAI NAOROJI'S

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS.

Second Edition: 860 pages, Crown Octavo. Price Rs. 3.

To Subscribers of the "I.R." Rs. 2-8.

INDIAN NATIONAL EVOLUTION.

By Aravika Charan Muzumdar.

A brief survey of the origin and progress of the Indian National Congress and the growth of Indian Nationalism.

A NEW AND UP-TO-DATE EDITION.

Price Rs. 3. To subscribers of the "I.R." Rs. 2-8.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

INDIAN ARTS, INDUSTRIES & AGRICULTURE

Indian Industrial and Economic Problems. By Prof. V. G. Kale, Fergusson College, Poona. Price Rs. 1-8. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," Re. 1-4.

The Swadeshi Movement.—A Symposium by Representative Indians and Anglo-Indians. Re. 1-4. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," Re. 1.

Agricultural Industries in India. By Seedick R. Sayani. With an introduction by Sir Vitaldas Damodar Thackersey. Second edition. Revised and enlarged. Re. 1. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," As. 12.

Essays on Indian Art, Industries and Education. By E. B. Havell, Re. 1-4. To Subscribers of the "I.R." Re. 1.

Essays on Indian Economics. (Third Edition). By Mahadev Govind Ranade. Price Rs. 2. To Subscribers of the "I.R.," Re. 1-8.

Industrial India. By Glyn Barlow, M.A. Second Edition, Re. 1. To Subscribers of the "I.R." As. 12.

Lift-Irrigation. By A. Chatterton. Second Edition. Revised and enlarged. Price. Rs. 2. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," Rs. 1-8.

The Improvement of Indian Agriculture.—Some Lessons from America. By Catholyne Singh. Price Rs. 1. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," As. 12.

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

Views of representative Indians and Anglo-Indians.

Contains among others, the views of Dadabhoi Naoroji, H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda, H. H. the Maharaja of Dharbanga, G. K. Gokhale, Dr. Sir Rash Behari Ghose, Hon. Sir Fazulbhoi Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Sir R. N. Mookerjee, Sir D. E. Wacha, Hon. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan, Mrs. Besant, Mr. Tilak, Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, and also of Lord Minto, Lord Carmichael, Lord Ampthill etc.

Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged.

Price Rs. 1-4. To Subscribers of "I.R.," Re. 1.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

THE BEST, THE CHEAPEST AND
THE MOST UP-TO-DATE INDIAN PERIODICAL

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN

Send your name and address with a Four-anna Postage stamp for a Specimen copy

THE PARSI.—As fresh, typical, and informing as ever.

THE SIMLA NEWS.—It is a magazine every intelligent European should read. (Annual subscription, Rs. 5.)

COMMERCE.—One of the best of its kind in India.

BENGALLEE.—It is ably edited by Mr. G. A. Natesan, that distinguished publicist of Southern India.

THE SANJIVARTMAN, BOMBAY.—The "Indian Review" may well be called the "Review of Reviews" for India. Any one who wishes to be always in touch with the progress of political, social or religious thoughts of New India must have a copy of this excellent "Review" always by himself.*** Is undoubtedly a gem of its kind, and no cultured Indian cares to be without it.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, RS. 5 (FIVE); FOREIGN 10/-

Current numbers of "The Indian Review" (sold at As. Eight) will not be given as specimen copies.

ALL ABOUT THE WAR

THE INDIAN REVIEW WAR BOOK.

A comprehensive and authentic account of the War with numerous illustrations, portraits, cartoons, maps and diagrams contributed by officers of the Indian Civil, Military and Medical Services, Ministers of Native States, Engineers, Educationists, Journalists, Lawyers, Publicists and other Specialists. Edited by G. A. Natesan, with an introduction by H. E. Lord Pentland and an appreciation by H. B. Lord Hardinge.

Price Rs. 4. To Subscribers of the "I.R." Rs. 3.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

